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The

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ENGLISH COAL INDUSTRY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

IN England the mining of coal is of great antiquity.[1] Coal was in use among the Saxons, apparently, for the burning of lime and the shaping of iron.[2] At an early time it came into use as fuel. It is mentioned in the Newminster chartulary about 1236; and in 1306, according to the antiquarian Prynne, it was much employed by London artificers in place of charcoal and wood, and caused such intolerable smoke that the king forbade it to be used there.[3] About the time of the Peasants' Revolt a chronicler speaks of coal which grows under the ground in Wales.[4] Before this time it seems to have been exported.[5] During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there is much information to show that coal was mined at Newcastle and Gateshead, that it was largely used, and that considerable quantities were borne by sea to London, becoming thus the sea-coal

[1] For an admirable account, filled with antiquarian learning, and with copious references and annotations, see John Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, including an Account of the Coal Trade of that Place*, etc. (London, 1789), II. 241–311; also Matthias Dunn, *An Historical, Geological, and Descriptive View of the Coal Trade of the North of England*, etc. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1844); Mark Archer, *A Sketch of the History of the Coal Trade of Northumberland and Durham* (London, [1897]), pt. I.; also R. L. Galloway, *Papers relating to the History of the Coal Trade and the Invention of the Steam Engine*, etc. (London, 1906), pp. 15–24.

[2] Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5.

[3] Surtees Society, *Publications*, LXVI. (1876) 55, 201. "Jam de novo praeter solitum ex Carbone marino concremant et componunt; de quo tantus et talis prosilit foetor intolerabilis, quod diffundens se per loca vicina, aër ibidem inficitur in immensum: . . ." William Prynne, *Brief Animadversions on . . . the Fourth Part of Coke's Institutes* (London, 1669), p. 182, quoting "Pat. 35 Edward I. m. 4. dorso".

[4] Trevisa-Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), I. 399.

[5] Petition of Thomas Rente of Pontoise, 1325. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I. 433; Brand, II. 255.

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of common parlance.[6] This traffic may have been subject to customs payment for a long time, but express mention is made of it in the time of Henry V.[7] During this and the following century there were probably numerous mines, many of them doubtless small, in the north country.[8] Aeneas Sylvius, speaking of the wonders of Scotland, of the winter days only three hours long, and of fruits which change into birds, tells also of the wondrous stones which poorly clad beggars accept in lieu of alms, and which they joyfully burn instead of wood.[9] A hundred years later the Venetian ambassador sends back a quaint account of the wide use of coal in industry.[10] Sea-coal, stone-coal, and moor-coal are all mentioned, and the mines were sources of revenue to many a landowner and ecclesiastic.[11] A monopoly of sea-coals was one of the measures of James I., and was planned also in the reign following, while by this time the customs upon coal were recognized as "an ancient Revenue of the Crown".[12]

This coal was obtained in various places. There was a coal-pit eight fathoms deep in Somersetshire at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[13] At this time there was no little activity in the Midlands, while Scottish coal is mentioned also.[14] Trade was carried on from Hull, Yarmouth, and "Larpoole" in Lancashire;[15] most of all, however, from the Tyne. "The greatest Part of this Kingdom, and more especially the City of London, and most Mari-

[6] Richard Welford, *History of Newcastle and Gateshead in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1884, 1887).

[7] *Statutes of the Realm,* II. 208; Brand, *op. cit.,* II. 270.

[8] *Welford, loc. cit.,* I., II.

[9] "Nam pauperes pene nudos ad templa mendicantes, acceptis lapidibus eleemosynae gratia datis, laetos abiisse conspeximus: id genus lapidis sive sulphurea sive alia pingui materia praeditum, pro ligno, quo regio nuda est, comburitur." *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei . . . Opera* (Basel, 1551), p. 443; Brand, *op. cit.,* II. 263.

[10] "Nelle parti del Nord, che e il paese confinante colla Scozia, si ritrova certa sorta di terra quasi come miniera, e brucia come il carbone, e se ne usa da molti e massime dalli fabbri; e se non lasciasse un non so che di mal sentore, facendo gran fazione e costando poco, si userebbe ancora piu." "Relazione di Giacomo Soranzo", in Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni dello Impero Britannico nel Secolo XVI. scritte da Veneti Ambasciatori* (Florence, 1852), pt. II., p. 50; Welford, *op. cit.,* II. 318.

[11] *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. IV., pt. I., p. 410; Welford, *op. cit.,* II. 83, 104, 111.

[12] *Commons' Journals,* I. 685; "Many monopolies spoken of, among others, one that only 10 men may sell sea-coal throughout England" (1637). Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Tenth Report,* III. 163; *Commons' Journals,* I. 778.

[13] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Twelfth Report,* I. 71 (Coke MSS.).

[14] *Id.,* IV. 499, 500; *Fifteenth Report,* X. 156.

[15] *Commons' Journals,* II. 90.

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time Towns, are served and furnished with Coals from the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the adjacent Parts of Northumberland, and the Bishoprick of Durham", says a declaration of 1643.[16] Somewhat earlier the author of a pamphlet declares that 200 ships carry coal from Newcastle to London, while as many more serve the other seacoast towns, great and small. "Hither even to the Mines mouth, come all our Neighbour countrey Nations with their Shippes continually." French ships came in fleets of forty or fifty sail, serving the ports of northern France, and others from Germany and Holland carried on the trade with Flanders and beyond.[17] "An other Commodity that this River bringeth forth, is Coale in great abundance; most of the People that liveth in these parts, lives by the benefit of Coales, and are carried out of this River into most parts of England South-Ward, into Germany, and other transmarine Countries."[18] And a rhymester bursting forth in exultant doggerel cries:[19]

> "England's a perfect World! has Indies too!
> Correct your Maps: New-Castle is Peru."

The protection of this sea trade, and particularly the uninterrupted transport of coals to London, was a matter of great solicitude to the authorities. A navy paper of 1629, endorsed by Sir J. Coke, "Proposition for a fleet of 5 squadrons", assigns one of them to guard "the Coal Fleets of Newcastle".[20] In 1640 there were apprehensions that the trade might be interrupted by the Scots; and two years later Parliament, narrating things done by the king's evil counsellors, spoke of their fortifying the mouth of the Tyne, so that all the Newcastle coal traffic could be stopped whenever his Majesty pleased, which would bring great burden and distress to the city of London and many parts of the kingdom.[21] After the Restoration, whenever there was danger from abroad, hundreds of colliers sailed together under the convoy of war-ships, and numerous communications about their movements were sent to the commissioners of the navy and the clerk of the privy council.[22]

[16] *Lords' Journals*, VI. 82.

[17] *The Trades Increase* (London, 1615), pp. 10, 11; also Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eleventh Report*, VII. 291.

[18] William Grey, *Chorographia; or, a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1649, ed. Newcastle, 1818), p. 32.

[19] *News from Newcastle* (London, 1651), p. 1.

[20] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Twelfth Report*, I. 379 (Coke MSS.).

[21] *Hardwicke State Papers*, II. 173; *Parliamentary History*, II. 1411.

[22] "Yesterday the Flyeing Grayhounde sayled from this porte [Newcastle] in the Companie of the Convoy and neere 400 sayle of Colliers". State Papers

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During the seventeenth century coal was more and more used in various manufactures, and by the end of the century it had become indispensable. "Iron may be made with Sea-coal, and Pit-coal", says a speaker in 1614.[23] A little later coal was to be used in the making of tobacco pipes.[24] In 1690 the brewers of London were suffering in their trade because of the high price of coals.[25] Two years after, the attorney-general reported in favor of the incorporation of a company to smelt iron with pit-coal.[26] In 1696 the glass-workers of Southwark petitioned that a duty might be removed, lest their manufacture be ruined, and the woolen-dyers of London declared that "they cannot carry on their Trade without great Quantities of Coals".[27] It was employed likewise in the manufacture of salt.[28] Many trades made use of it as time went on. In 1731 a petition of brewers, distillers, dyers, glass-makers, smiths, and sugar-bakers, had to do with the use of coal.[29] Shortly after, a petition against its high cost came from these same, together with soap-boilers, "and other considerable Consumers".[30] In 1739 high prices occasioned protest from brewers, brick-makers, calico-printers, distillers, dyers, founders, glass-makers, lime-burners, smiths, soap-boilers, and sugar-bakers, "who are Consumers of large Quantities of Coals".[31]

A great part of it was used for fuel. In 1641 payment is made by the corporation of Bridgnorth "To Humfrey Parkes for halfe a tonne of coales for a great fire that watch night which was made nere the Cross in the high streete of this Town".[32] "Winter draws on and never was less provision of coals here than now; 'tis likely many a house will be pulled down and burnt for want of firing", writes a correspondent from Dublin in 1643.[33] In 1662 arrangement is made for the purchase of £500 worth of sea-coal for the king's garrison at Tangier.[34] Above all it was so used in London.

Domestic, Charles II., CLXVIII., Aug. 25, 1666. See *id.*, CCCV., Apr. 13, 1672; CCCXII., June 24, 1672; and CCCXIII., CCCXIV., *passim*. "This day wee have news of 14 Colliers being taken by three dutch Capers aft of Hornesey". *Id.*, CCCXXXVI., pt. I., June 13, 1673.

23 *Commons' Journals*, I. 480.

24 Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report*, II. 69 (Portland MSS.).

25 *Commons' Journals*, X. 491.

26 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1691–1692*, pp. 518, 523, 524.

27 *Commons' Journals*, XI. 391, 394.

28 *Id.*, XII. 587.

29 *Id.*, XXI. 739, 740.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

31 *Id.*, XXIII. 263.

32 Hist. MSS. Comm., *Tenth Report*, IV. 434.

33 *Id.*, *Thirteenth Report*, I. 133 (Portland MSS.).

34 Privy Council Register, LVI., Aug. 16, 1662.

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At the beginning of the Civil War, Parliament commanded the lord mayor to ascertain, "What Quantities of Coals are in and about the City of London, and for what Time the Store will continue; and to consider what moderate Price and Rate may be set upon the Coals that are now in Store, in Consideration of the Poor".[35] In the following year, when trade with Newcastle was stopped, "all the poore in the City . . . are fearfull they must sit and blow their nailes the rest of this Winter for cold, unlesse some new project . . . be found out, to make the Bricks and balls of Clay burne."[36] "All the morning in the cellar with the colliers, removing the coles out of the old cole hole into the new one", writes Pepys in 1662; and during the war with Holland he notes the great misery the city and kingdom are like to suffer soon, with the Dutch in command of the sea, and able to burn the ships at Newcastle.[37]

Lowering the price of coals, or affording a substitute, engaged the attention of charlatans and statesmen; and during the South Sea period one of the projects was "A Subscription of £1,000,000 for a Joint Stock, to be employed in carrying on the Navigation and Traffick of Coals from Newcastle to London".[38] Huge quantities were brought down the coast. In 1690 an investigation showed that during the two past years 650,000 chaldrons had been conveyed to London.[39] About 1704, 400,000 chaldrons were entered from Newcastle, and for some time this seems to have been the amount imported annually.[40] About 1730 a writer declares, "There are above a Thousand Sail of Ships constantly imployed in Carrying Coals to the different Parts of England, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Flanders, and Holland; and the Market at Lon-

[35] *Commons' Journals*, II. 905.

[36] *Sea-Coale, Char-Coale, and Small-Coale: or a Discourse betweene a New-Castle Collier, a Small-Coale-Man, and a Collier of Croydon: concerning the Prohibition of Trade with New-Castle, and the Fearfull Complaint of the Poore of the Citie of London, for the Inhancing the Price of Sea-Coales* (London, 1643), p. 4.

[37] *Diary*, Feb. 8, 1661/2, June 23, 1667.

[38] Broadside, "Expedients proposed for the easing and advantaging the Coal-trade, and lessening the price of Coles in London and other places", St. P. Dom., Charles II., CCCLXXIV. 107; *Good News for the Poor, or an Expedient Humbly Offered for Supplying the Want and Bringing Down the Price of Coles: Discovering a New Invention for Maintaining good Fires at an easie Charge, notwithstanding the present War, or any the like Exigency*, etc. (London, 1674); *Commons' Journals*, XIX. 341.

[39] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Thirteenth Report*, V. 26 (House of Lords MSS.). The content of a chaldron was different at different times: 42 cwt. before 1678; 52½ cwt., 1678–1695; 53 cwt. from 1696. See Surtees Society, *Publications*, CV. 260.

[40] St. P. Dom., Anne, IV., May 18, 1704; *Commons' Journals*, XXI. 370, 517.

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don is the Standard, and settles the Price, for the most Part, for all other Markets."[41] By the middle of the century 500,000 chaldrons of coal were imported into London annually, most of which was used in the trades.[42] Lesser quantities were consumed in other places. In 1696 the officials of Norfolk declared that the fuel of their county was almost entirely coal.[43] There was a considerable trade from the pits to inland towns. Many thousand families got their living by transporting it in wagons over the roads in good weather. This coal was said to be less good than the sea-coal brought to London.[44]

Thus it may be seen that mining and the coal trade had become important industries at this time. "Many . . . are imployed in this trade of Coales;" says a seventeenth-century writer, "many live by working of them in the Pits; many live by conveying them in Waggons and Waines to the River Tine; many men are employed in conveying the Coals in Keels from the Stathes aboard the Ships."[45] And another, writing later, says that there were employed in his time 1200 ships with 15,000 men to navigate them, and that on land 100,000 persons were engaged above the ground and under it.[46] In these industries the government had unusual and growing interest. Constantly increasing duties were levied, which, though they were difficult to collect, were a noticeable item in public revenue, and helped to rebuild St. Paul's and repair Westminster Abbey.[47] The shipping of coals along the coast was always considered important in the interests of the navy. "Plantations, the Fishery, and Coal trade, are the three great nurseries of seamen", said Sir George Downing.[48] In 1696 a petition stated that "the Coal-Trade . . . now is the chiefest Nursery for Seamen", and the same thing was said half a century later.[49] Charles Povey asserted that to his certain knowledge the colliery trade bred up more mariners than all of England's commerce with other countries.[50] In addition to the fact that the

41 *The Case of the Owners and Masters of Ships Imployed in the Coal-Trade* (1730?); also *Commons' Journals*, XXI. 516, where it is stated that 400 ships were engaged in the London trade.

42 *Considerations on the Coal Trade*, etc. (1748 ?).

43 *Commons' Journals*, XI. 421.

44 *Reasons Humbly Offered; to shew, that a Duty upon In-land Coals, will be no Advantage to His Majesty, but a great Grievance to his Subjects* (n. p., n. d.).

45 Grey, *Chorographia*, p. 34.

46 *The Case of the Owners of Ships concerned in the Coal-Trade*, etc. (n. p., n. d.).

47 St. P. Dom., Charles II., CCCCXII. 97; Additional MSS. 30504.

48 In 1675. Grey, *Debates*, III. 333.

49 *Commons' Journals*, XI. 382, XXI. 465.

50 Charles Povey, *The Unhappiness of England, as to its Trade by Sea and Land, Truly Stated* (London, 1701), p. 4.

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government had for its own sake great interest in the maintenance of the trade, whenever anything interfered with the obtaining or distribution of the commodity the authorities were assailed with such insistent and vociferous complaints, that they were never willing to tolerate interference of any kind.

The assistance of the government was usually invoked to reduce exorbitant prices. There was constant tendency for the cost to increase to consumers along with a rise in other prices, and also for reasons to be discussed below. In 1690 complaint was made that the high price of coals was harming London manufacturers and making the poor suffer for want of firing.[51] In 1702 a committee investigated the cause of excessive prices then prevailing, and there were many complaints and attempted remedies as time went on.[52] This dearness was due among other things to the duties levied upon coal both at the port of departure and at the port where it was unloaded again, but it must be explained largely as a result of restraint of trade arising from numerous devices practised by both employers and employes, where the coal was produced and where it was finally sold for consumption.

As regards the capitalists in places where the coal was obtained, it may be said at once that power tended always to get into the hands of those who controlled transportation. But whereas in the nineteenth century mastery in many places fell to those who directed the railroads, in England in the eighteenth century control of the coal trade came into the possession not of the ship-owners, but of those who held terminal facilities, such as way-leaves and wharf rights. Here the typical instance is the powerful organization of the hostmen of Newcastle.

In the north of England, as elsewhere during the Middle Ages, the hostelers or hostmen were free inhabitant householders, to whom was assigned the entertaining of merchant strangers, with responsibility for their conduct, and who had among other privileges the right to sell such supplies as were not monopolized by the local trading gilds. At Newcastle the vend of coal and grindstones came into their hands, and by 1600 they had obtained as the result of long custom a practical monopoly. In return for an increased duty upon coal exported, Elizabeth incorporated their company, and confirmed ambiguously the privileges which they alleged to be theirs; after which, vigorous action and able management upheld, for a long time, what they affirmed to be their right.[53] A statute of

[51] *Commons' Journals*, X. 491.

[52] *Id.*, XIV. 19.

[53] F. W. Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of*

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Tudor times making Newcastle the emporium of this district rendered it easier for the hostmen to obtain a monopoly.[54] Except for a brief period, they maintained intact their exclusive privileges throughout the seventeenth century and for a while in the century following, until rising sentiment in favor of free trade in towns gradually broke it down.[55]

Having established firmly their monopoly of selling at Newcastle, they began to reach out for the ownership or the control of the coal mines nearby. In 1638 an owner near Newcastle, seeking to obtain from the king permission to sell certain mines, declared that no one could make a gain by them save the free hostmen.[56] During the period of the Protectorate they were vigorously and almost successfully assailed by independent interests through an able pamphleteer, in whose denunciations as well as in their own records their methods of procedure are revealed.[57] According to this writer, they are

> Ingrossers of all Coals, and other commodities, into their own hands, from the Inheritors . . . with other irresistable Oppressions, like to the Spanish Inquisition . . . And what they cannot do by force of their Charter amongst themselves, against any private person opposing, then by Combination ruin them at Law, by their Delatory Plea, and out-pursing them, to the high dishonor of God. . . . They will not suffer any of the Coal Owners in any of the two Counties to sell their own Coals, but the Owners must either sel their Coals to the free Hoast-men, at what price they please, and then all ships must give them their own price, or get none. This it is which makes coals so dear: they either hoard or sell at excessive rates, and so reduce the people to miserable condition.[58]

The ownership of the neighboring coal-mines had by the beginning of the seventeenth century come largely into the hands of the hostmen. Owners who were not of this society labored under great disadvantage in getting their coal to market and disposing of it. Sometimes it was a matter of much difficulty and expense to make possible the transportation of coal from colliery to river front. In 1732 a traveller notes the pains which had been taken to prepare a way from the Blackburn mine, seven miles from Newcastle, and the huge arch built over a small stream, to make the proper incline all

Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Surtees Society, CV., 1901). The author's admirable introduction is the principal authority upon the subject.

[54] 21 Henry VIII. c. 18; Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx, xxxi.

[55] Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi.

[56] Welford, *op. cit.*, III. 343.

[57] Ralph Gardiner, *Englands Grievance Discovered, in relation to the Coal-Trade*, etc. (London, 1655).

[58] *Ibid.*, introduction, and p. 64.

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the way.[59] Even when there were no natural obstacles, it was often necessary to pay exorbitant prices to obtain right of way. "Another thing that is remarkable is their way-leaves," says Roger North, "for when men have pieces of ground between the colliery and the river, they sell leave to lead coals over their ground; and so dear that the owner of a rood of ground will expect £20 per annum for this leave."[60] In 1739 a pamphleteer inveighed against the abuses connected with this. He declared that the value of the land over which many of the ways were constructed did not exceed twenty shillings an acre, and some of it was not worth two.[61] At Wickham Moor a rent of £3000 per annum was for a long while paid. He thought it extraordinary that a single acre of land should sometimes, because of its lucky situation, be of more value than three or four hundred acres of better land nearby, with a coal mine besides. Twenty-five years' purchase was the ordinary price of land, but twenty-five thousand years' value for an annual rent was a monstrous thing. He proposed that the public authorities purchase the way-leaves at a fair valuation, and that ways be constructed where necessary, after which all coal-owners should be admitted to use them on payment of a proper share of the cost.[62]

The monopolists first obtained such mines as they wished, and then strove to crush out all competition. Many collieries they leased from the proprietors; elsewhere they paid the possessors an annual consideration to let their mines lie unwrought.[63] By various means owners were harassed in their business. A statement printed about 1740 recounts two instances where several devices were employed to prevent the working of mines, which ended at last with their being flooded.[64] It was at this time that a statute was passed against the drowning of mines, directed against those

[59] *Diary of a Tour in 1732 through Parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, made by John Loveday of Caversham* (Roxburghe Club, CVII., 1890), p. 172.

[60] North, *Lives of the Norths* (ed. Jessopp, London, 1890), I. 176.

[61] "There is a small Common, not exceeding three hundred Yards over; the Herbage of the whole Common is not, nor ever was, worth 20*s. per Annum*. For Leave of a Way over this small Pittance of Ground, otherwise almost useless, the late Mr. C—, as I am credibly informed, received annually, for some Years, above 2500 *l.* Impositions of the like Nature, though, perhaps, not altogether so prodigious, are frequent, and scarce a Colliery is free from them." *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance of the Price of Coals*, etc. (London, 1739), pp. 17, 18.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 22, 23, 24.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[64] *The Case of One of the Petitioners* (n. p., n. d.).

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who wished to establish a monopoly.[65] Above all, they secured the way-leaves, for which in many instances they paid dead rents, not to use them, but to exclude others from them, so that proprietors must either let their mines be idle, or lease them on the terms offered. "The aforesaid Gentlemen having, by these Methods, secured to themselves little less than an absolute Monopoly of all Coals about Newcastle, they soon found it in their Power to enhance the Price."[66]

In course of time it was found that possession of the mines was less important than control of terminal facilities and rights of way. The result of this was that gradually within the society of hostmen the fitters, who had originally been apprentices or agents for unfree owners, became more important than the hostmen who were owners; and the composition of the company was at length changed altogether from a fraternity of coal-owners to a fraternity of privileged fitters or agents, whose business it was to deliver coal from the colliery stathes or wharfs to the ships in which it was exported.[67] In the prosecution of their plans, besides employing the devices already mentioned, they got possession of so large a share of the lands adjoining the Tyne and the Wear that they almost totally debarred other persons from access to them.[68] Moreover, the fitters not only owned the keels, or small boats in which the coal was taken

[65] "Whereas of late divers evil-disposed persons possessed of or interested in collieries, have by secret and subtil devices wilfully and maliciously attempted to drown adjacent collieries, and have by means of water conveyed or obstructed for that purpose destroyed or damaged the same, intending thereby to enhance the price of coals, and gain the monopoly thereof", culprits were to pay treble damages and full costs of the suit. 13 George II. c. 21.

[66] *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., pp. 13, 14.

[67] Dendy, *op. cit.*, p. xlviii. "The Hostmen or Fitters at Newcastle are an incorporated Company; their Business is to load Ships with Coals, which they carry from the Coal Owners Staiths or Wharfs, on board the Ships in Keels; these Keels are a kind of Lighters, and always carry eight Newcastle Chaldrons each." *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., p. 31. By 1703 the process was already marked. "There are at Newcastle upon Tyne Men called Hoastmen or Fitters . . . it is now become a practice of these Hoastmen to buy Coales at certain prices of the owner of Colliery's and to carry them in Keels and Sell them to the Ship Masters, and Sometimes they are paid at certain Rates for their Negotiation between the Owners of the Adjacent Collieries, and the Ship Masters . . . they (and they only) now Act between the Colliery Ownrs and the Ship Masters and will Suffer none so to Act but themselves, nor any ownr of a Colliery to Act without them, for they pretend that no person but one of them (altho' an Ownr of a Colliery) can carry his Coales in Boats and Sell them directly to a Ship Mr, so that all the Coale Trade at Newcastle must come thro' the hands of these Hoastmen as they pretend." Opinion of Edward Northey, attorney-general. Surtees Society, CV. 162.

[68] *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., p. 13.

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to the ships, but they became part owners of the ships, and then agreed among themselves that no fitter should load a ship in which another fitter owned even a small share.[69] Next they strove by combination and agreement not only to regulate prices but to limit the output.[70] The result of all this was rising prices and constant complaint and discontent.

In 1704, because of a combination at Newcastle to keep up the price of coal, the queen in council commanded the secretary of state to write, "That Her Maty. disapproves all sorts of Combinations of the like Nature".[71] Later in the year a committee of the council investigating the increase of price could learn of no combination of merchants at Yarmouth, and doubted whether a combination of colliery owners at Newcastle had enhanced the price, but asserted that "the Masters of Ships and the Fitters or Hoastmen Perplex the Trade by all the Artifices they can".[72] In 1711 a bill was presented in the Commons to dissolve present and prevent future "Combinations of Coal-owners, Lightermen, Masters of Ships, and others, to advance the Price of Coals"; and the law which was passed imposed penalties upon the owners, the fitters, and the ship-owners who entered into such contracts.[73] In 1739, however, a petition of numerous manufacturers of London alleged that all the old abuses still brought them grievance.[74] A writer, who was apparently the champion of the complainants, asserted that the monopoly was now so thoroughly established as almost to defy opposition; that the mine-owners were not now at greater expense in digging and carrying coals than previously, but that the payment of dead rents increased the expense; that the total cost of coal delivered on shipboard was not more than 7s. 6d. per chaldron; that it might be sold at fair profit for 9s. 6d., and was sold for foreign trade at 9s. By selling it for 13s. 6d. monopolists made a profit

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34.

[70] Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii–xlvi.

[71] Privy Council Register, LXXX., May 25, 1704.

[72] *Id.*, Sept. 5, 1704.

[73] *Commons' Journals*, XVI. 553; 9 Anne c. 30.

[74] "That the Price of Coals at Newcastle, and other Places in the North, hath, of late, been greatly advanced; which, the Petitioners apprehend, is owing to paying Rents for Collieries not wrought; to Wharves or Staiths being engrossed by a few; and by other Persons being prevented from bringing Coals to, and using the same; by giving less Measure of Coals at Newcastle than heretofore; and by reason many Persons are discouraged from working their Coal Mines, for want of convenient Ways or Roads to the Staiths, which they are refused or prevented from using, renting, procuring, or having, by Methods which tend to monopolize the same, as well as the Coal Trade." *Commons' Journals*, XXIII. 263.

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of more than sixty-five per cent.; and thus an added burden of £83,500 a year was placed upon the kingdom. This profit went to a very few men: not to the dealers in London, nor the ship-owners, nor the miners, nor those who sold materials or sunk the mines; but to the monopolists—in so far as it did not go for way-leaves, dead rents, and lawsuits. The government should dissolve such combinations, and forbid those devices which had been employed.[75]

The maintenance of the monopoly depended also on controlling the ship-owners. This was done partly by acquiring an interest in the ships, and partly by making agreements with their masters. The lot of these masters was not a happy one, for, as will presently be shown, they merely carried the coal from the monopoly where it was produced to another monopoly where it was sold. In 1701 a writer estimated that they received less than half of what would have been the fair charge for freightage, and that the coal shipping was threatened with ruin.[76] "I have been frequently surprised", he declares, "in seeing a Fleet of one or two hundred Sail arrive in the River, and the Masters sell their Coals at so low a Rate, that they have actually lost ten or fifteen Pounds in their Freight"; and he says that the masters then tried to grind down the wages of those who unloaded their vessels.[77]

The laborers, that is to say, the miners who dug the coal, and the keelmen who carried it from the wharves to the ships, present another aspect of the subject. Of the miners at this time there is little to be said, for accounts of them are scanty and few. Probably they belonged to the lowest class of the population: in Scotland they remained villeins attached to the soil until the end of the eighteenth century. In the north of England they were hired for the year, during which they were bound for certain wages, as had been the case since the days of the Statute of Laborers.[78] In 1739 George Whitefield preached to the savage colliers near Bristol,[79]

[75] *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., pp. 8–10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 28–31. This attack was directed rather against the mine-owners than the fitters.

[76] Coals were sold at London for about 18s. per chaldron; the masters purchased them for about 6s. at Newcastle, and paid 15d. for various charges there; to which must be added 5s. customs to the king. 1s. 6d. for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, 1s. 6d. metage, and certain charges to laborers, making more than 8s.; so that masters had no more than 3s. for themselves; whereas 6s. in summer and 9s. in winter would have been a fair compensation. Charles Povey, *The Unhappiness of England*, etc., pp. 11, 12.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 10. In 1702, however, the masters had complained of the high wages which they then had to pay. *Commons' Journals*, XIV. 19.

[78] R. N. Boyd, *Coal Pits and Pitmen, a Short History of the Coal Trade and the Legislation Affecting It* (London, 1892), p. 3.

[79] When Whitefield spoke of going forth to convert savages, friends in

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and about the middle of the eighteenth century a philosophic writer pitied the miserable condition of all miners.[80] Nearly all of their labor was done by hand. The coal-hewers worked in stagnant atmosphere and amidst poisonous gases with ever present danger of explosions, though many of the mines as yet were carried to no great depth.[81] Drainage was poor until Newcomen's steam engine came generally into use about 1720. The coal was drawn along miry passages in corves or baskets, or later in cars, and was raised up the shafts by horse machines or gins, or by hand-windlasses, and sometimes was carried up ladders. From the mines to the wharves the coal was drawn over rude wooden ways in ruder wagons, cast-iron railways appearing in the latter half of the century. In the north of England a coal-hewer received 1s. 6d. or more a day. Some women worked in the mines, and around the pit mouths and the stathes a great part of the labor was performed by them. They cleaned the coal, and barrowed it from the stathes to the keels, receiving for such work a penny or a penny and a half a ton. The toil was brutalizing, and the hours were probably long.[82]

Apparently there are instances of rudimentary organization among the miners, but not enough to ameliorate their condition. Remedy they sought by violence and uprising. In 1738 there was a riot of coal-miners at Bristol, in which they attempted to stop all supplies of coal from coming to the city whether by sea or land, and in the midst of much violence levied contributions from passers-by for their support.[83] In 1754 there was another riot among them.[84] Two years later, in a season of backward harvests, when

Bristol said to him: "What need of going abroad for this? Have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood." Robert Southey, *Life of Wesley*, etc. (third ed., London, 1846), I. 197.

[80] "I suppose that there are in Great Britain upwards of an hundred thousand People employed in Lead, Tin, Iron, Copper, and Coal Mines; these unhappy Wretches scarce ever see the Light of the Sun; they are buried in the Bowels of the Earth; there they work at a severe and dismal Task, without the least Prospect of being delivered from it; they subsist upon the coarsest and worst sort of Fare; they have their Health miserably impaired, and their Lives cut short, by being perpetually confined in the close Vapour of these malignant Minerals." [Edmund Burke?], *A Vindication of Natural Society*, etc. (London, 1756), pp. 90, 91.

[81] But in 1688 Sir Thomas Lowther writes: "In the morning the steward of my Colepitts fell downe the Pitt 34 yards deep . . . yet by God's mercie was not killed." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Thirteenth Report*, VII. 96 (Lonsdale MSS.).

[82] The best account which I have noticed is in Matthias Dunn, *View of the Coal Trade*, etc., pp. 39–44; also Boyd, *Coal Pits and Pitmen*, p. 14.

[83] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CXXXI., Oct. 9, 11, 13, 1738.

[84] St. P. Dom., George II., CXXV., Jan. 17, 1754.

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the farmers kept for their own work the wagons in which the coal was hauled to market, coal masters of the Midlands stopped work at the mines, or turned off great numbers of men. Then the miners gathered together at Coventry, at Nuneaton, and also at Nottingham, and terrified the local authorities in an effort to reduce the price of food.[85] Their clannishness and their willingness to act together made it difficult to deal with them;[86] and in some places they had a measure of political importance.[87] The severe penalties imposed upon persons who drowned or set fire to coal-mines would seem to bear witness to numerous outrages committed against such property by the discontented; and repeated legislation suggests the continuance of the evil and the difficulty of stamping it out.[88]

More picturesque and better known are the keelmen of Newcastle, who carried the coal in wherries or keels from the wharves to the ships. The keelmen with their distinctive habits and dress, long a feature of life by the Tyne, were largely Scots and borderers. They had a fellowship at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which became well known in later times.[89] A church and a school were provided for them by the corporation, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century they agreed that regular deductions be made from their wages for the erection of a hospital and the maintaining of charities among them.[90] At this time they numbered about 1600.[91] These keelmen were not only well organized in their asso-

[85] St. P. Dom., George II., CXXXV., Aug. 25, 30, 1756.

[86] "I need not observe, that the Circumstances of Colliers are very different to any other Men; not only as they all act in League, and would stand by one another, throughout the Kingdom, and are desperate Fellows (which is seen by their attacking Gaols to release any that are confined,) but besides this they think they can, at any time, hide themselves, and they know that the Kingdom cannot do without Coals, and they know that other People cannot do their Work." Report, *ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1756.

[87] "These Colliers are always let loose to support the Freedom of Elections, and therefore now all the Party are desirous to have the Colliers now in prison rescued." The mayor of Nottingham, *id.*, Sept. 7, 1756.

[88] 10 George II. c. 32; 17 George II. c. 40; 24 George II. c. 57; 31 George II. c. 42.

[89] Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. l, li.

[90] "It has been already represented, that the Poor Keel-men have raised a voluntary Contribution of Charity, spared out of their Daily Labour, in order to Maintain and Support their own Poor; and that themselves, when by Age or Accidents, to which their hazardous Employment is very much exposed, are past their Labour, may not perish thro' Want, and be miserably Starved." *A Farther Case Relating to the Poor Keel-men of Newcastle* (n. p., n. d.).

[91] *The Case of the Poor Skippers and Keel-men of New-Castle, Truly Stated*, etc. (n. p., n. d.), p. 1; *The Case of . . . great Numbers of the Trading Hoastmen, commonly called Fitters, . . . of New-Castle upon Tyne* (n. p., n. d.); Dendy, p. lii.

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ciation, but were hardy and vigorous, and fully alive to the opportunities which they had to interrupt the coal trade when they desired to express their dissatisfaction. Accordingly there were numerous disturbances.

In 1671 there was "a Riott at New Castle", when the keelmen assembled to disturb the peace and interrupt trade, so that the privy council ordered the leaders to be imprisoned until the next assizes.[92] In 1710 there was a grave disturbance as a result of which coal trade on the Tyne was brought to a stop. The civil magistrates were entirely unable to cope with the situation, until the arrival of troops made it possible to force the strikers back to their work.[93] The queen in council considered a petition "from the poor Keelmen and others concerned in the Coal Works", and ordered an investigation.[94] The mayor of Newcastle wrote:

> We have examined and considered some of their Complaints which relate to their Wages w'ch they wou'd have encreased beyond what has been paid them these thirty years—With severall extravagant demands not in our power to grant them. We have given them undr. our hands that they shall have their just and usual Wages and all other reasonable demands soe far as it is in our power to grant yet this will not prevail with them to goe to work.[95]

The queen commanded the magistrates to "Consider of the Causes and occasions of the uneasiness and discontent of the Keelmen there, and endeavour to find out some expedient for satisfying the Minds of those People"; and appointed a committee of the council to examine the affair, "as this matter of the Coals is of so publick a Concern". The result was a settlement, in which apparently concessions were made on both sides.[96]

In 1719 trouble broke out afresh, so serious that it seemed to the local authorities almost a rebellion. The strikers demanded an increase of wages to 3s. per keel.[97] This was refused as more than the trade could bear, whereupon navigation upon the Tyne and the Wear was completely stopped. Not only did they refuse to work, but they would not let the fitters make use of the keels. Persuasion was tried, the riot act was read, and presently some of the leaders

[92] Privy Council Register, LXIII., June 9, 1671; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Twelfth Report*, VII. 79 (Le Fleming MSS.).

[93] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIX., June 17, 27, July 1, 1710; St. P. Dom., Anne, XII., June 23, July 21, 1710.

[94] Privy Council Register, LXXXIII., June 15, 1710.

[95] St. P. Dom., Anne, XII., July 11, 1710.

[96] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIX., July 4, Aug. 1, 1710.

[97] Apparently the keel contained at this time six chaldrons. St. P. Dom., Regencies, LXI., June 5, 1719. Earlier it was supposed to contain ten. Surtees Society, CV. 44.

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were seized and thrust into prison, whereupon great numbers of their comrades assembled in threatening mien. In answer to appeals from the local officials the lords justices of the regency caused a regiment and two tenders to be dispatched. After attempts had been made to reach an agreement, the keelmen, with their leaders in prison and themselves reduced to destitution, submitted.[98] They complained that the fitters had put more work upon them than was usual, and had obliged them to receive part of their wages in truck. This the magistrates denied.[99] Proceedings were begun against the strikers for restraining trade and for refusing to allow others to work,[100] and because, after contracting to work at certain wages for a year, they had insisted upon more,[101] and also because they had entered into a combination. Prosecution, against all but a schoolmaster who had urged the keelmen to rise, was finally stayed, when they made entire submission and expressed their sorrow.[102]

In 1738 there was disturbance again, and again military aid was asked for.[103] There was trouble or threatened trouble on several occasions after this.[104] In 1746 the mayor of Newcastle declared that the keelmen "are too ready to rise and become tumultuous upon the least pretence".[105]

The experience of the keelmen, as well as that of the weavers and the tailors at this time, shows that the attitude of the authorities toward workmen was, that they must not combine in clubs or associations, as the rudimentary trade unions were called; that they must

[98] St. P. Dom., Regencies, LVII., May 15, 16, 17, 1719; LXI., May 19, 21, June 4, 5, 9, 16, 1719; LXII., May 30, 1719.

[99] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXXXI., June 16, 1719; St. P. Dom., Regencies, LXI., June 4, 1719.

[100] It "had given an Interruption of several Weeks to the Coal Trade and the Consequence would have been severely felt at London if it had continued", Delafaye to Stanhope, St. P. Dom., Regencies, LXI., June 9, 1719.

[101] "They will not go to work in their Keells without a great increase of their Wages, altho they have bound themselves to the Fitters . . . for certain Wages for a Year ending at Christmas next, which are duely paid them." Letter of the magistrates of Newcastle, *id.*, LVII., May 16, 1719.

[102] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXXXI., July 23, 1719.

[103] "Our Keelmen . . . on pretence of some grievencys have refused to go to work for a few days past and assembled every Night in great Numbers keeping Watch, to deter and hinder those of the well disposed among them, from Navigating their Keels to the entire stoppage of the Coal Trade on the River Tyne." They have been urged to return to their duty, and some seem willing, "but express their fear of being ill treated and hindered by others of their own Fraternity". The mayor and magistrates of Newcastle to the secretary of state. *Id.*, CXXX., May 16, 1738.

[104] *Gentleman's Magazine*, X. (1740) 355; Brand, *op. cit.*, II. 520; St. P. Dom., George II., LXXXIII., Apr. 17, 1746, CXII., Apr. 30, 1750.

[105] St. P. Dom., George II., LXXXIII., Apr. 21, 1746.

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not assemble together for the purpose of altering their wages or bettering their condition; that assembling for such purposes would be regarded as unlawful, and disorder accompanying it would be dealt with as riot. This was not merely because the government represented capitalists and the upper classes, but also because the authorities continued as in the past their attempts to supervise industry and regulate wages. If the justices of the peace tried to enforce wages which they had assessed or which the workmen had contracted for during a certain period, and if the central and the local authorities alike frowned upon the strike and the meeting together of workmen, and often compelled them to go back to work, it is also true that the government strove to regulate the prices fixed by capitalists and to break up their combinations also. That its success was greater with respect to laborers than employers was noticed by a contemporary: "We have many laws, Sir", he said, "for preventing combinations amongst poor workmen, but few, if any, for preventing combinations amongst the rich masters that employ them: the one I take to be as necessary as the other."[106]

A study of the coal industry during this period in connection with the importation and distribution of the commodity reveals the same story of combination, attempted monopoly, enhancement of prices, and oppressed and discontented labor. As Newcastle was the centre of the industry at the one end, so was London at the other. From London, as from other places, came constant complaints of the exorbitant and increasing cost of coal. "Nay, I doe intend, neighbour *Sea-coale* . . . and so does all the poore of the Citie, to petition that a constant rate may be set upon you", says a pamphlet of 1643.[107] The trouble was owing to the number of successive exchanges involved in getting the coal to the consumer,[108] but it was moreover due to the increasing duties imposed, and to the monopoly which the woodmongers or importers were attempting to establish in London.

Customs on coal were increased as the exigencies of the government became greater. Elizabeth imposed a shilling duty on each chaldron exported from Newcastle for English consumption at the

[106] Thomas Whichcot, in the House of Commons, Mar. 26, 1753. *Parliamentary History*, XIV. 1312.

[107] *Sea-Coale, Char-Coale, and Small-Coale*, etc., p. 8.

[108] "A Welch Pedigree, doth not descend by more steps and degrees, than the propriety of their Coals is varied . . . The Owners of Collieries, must first sell the Coals to the Magistrates of Newcastle, the Magistrates to the Masters of ships, the Master of ships to the Woodmongers or Wharfingers, and they to those that spend them." Gardiner, *Englands Grievance Discovered*, p. 201.

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time when she incorporated the hostmen.[109] In 1695 the duty at London was made 5s. per chaldron, and immediately the price of coal at Southwark was more than doubled.[110] In the time of Anne and afterward statutes were repeatedly passed, followed by complaints of the heavy burden.[111] "Coals is a Thing of so absolute Necessity, that it is impossible to preserve the Poor from perishing without having the same at a moderate Price", runs a broadside written to oppose a duty.[112] Not the least of the discontent was due to the fact that at times the duty was less on coals exported to foreign parts, so that shipmasters could sell cheaper in Holland and France than in the port of London.[113] In addition there were duties at London for metage or measuring and for the rebuilding of St. Paul's.[114] On one occasion it was alleged that any further imposition would give great advantage to the Irish and the men of Hamburg, and carry trade away from England.[115]

More insistent were the complaints against the monopolists in London. As the hostmen of Newcastle got control of the export, so the woodmongers or wharfingers and the lightermen attempted to control the importation into London. In 1664 a report to the lord mayor and aldermen declared, "That the Citizens and Inhabitants of London, and Parts adjacent, do lie under an intollerable grievance . . . brought upon them by the Wood-mongers", who had tried to get into their hands the entire retail trade of the city. They had got possession of as many wharves as possible, and where they themselves could not use them, had let them with the understanding that they be not employed for the landing or selling of coals. It was said that they endeavored to compel the coal-ships to unload at their wharves, and by all means to prevent people dealing with the ships direct; that they tried to suppress others who dealt in the retailing of coals; and that by various devices they manipulated the supply and raised prices.[116] In 1669 Prynne alludes to the excessive prices caused by a confederacy of woodmongers.[117]

[109] Dendy, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

[110] 6 and 7 William and Mary c. 18; 9 William III. c. 13; *Commons' Journals*, XI. 390.

[111] For example, 6 Anne c. 50; 8 Anne c. 10; 9 Anne cc. 6, 27; 30 George II. c. 19, sect. 28; *Commons' Journals*, XVIII. 414, XXIII. 263.

[112] *Some Considerations Humbly offered to the Honourable House of Commons against Passing the Bill for laying a further Duty on Coals* (n. p., n. d.).

[113] *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance*, etc., p. 37.

[114] 1 James II. c. 15; 9 Anne c. 27; *Commons' Journals*, X. 235.

[115] *Reasons, Humbly Offered to the Honourable House of Commons, by the Dyers, against laying a further Duty upon Coals* (n. p., n. d.).

[116] *Some Memorials of the Controversie with the Wood-Mongers, or Traders*

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In process of time the woodmongers lost their power to the lightermen, who, at first employed by the woodmongers, presently began to furnish coal to purchasers direct.[118] In 1700 they were incorporated as the Lightermen's Company of London,[119] and acquired a certain monopoly. Previously all dealers might load and carry coals in their own lighters anywhere on the Thames, but the new company obtained exclusive privileges as to the use of lighters, and other dealers were debarred from employing them except to carry coals from the ships to their own wharves, with the result that they lost many of their customers, while the lightermen were able to engross the principal part of the trade.[120] Thus they came to be able to unload or retard a fleet of coal-ships, and so raise or lower the price as suited them.

In 1702 a committee of the Commons reported that several owners of collieries at Newcastle had made a contract with "the Body of Lightermen at London", by which the proprietors obliged themselves to pay to the lightermen 3d. per chaldron for all coals which the latter sold for them, while the lightermen agreed to pay these proprietors 6d. for each chaldron of other owners' coals sold before theirs was disposed of, whereupon the price was immediately raised at Newcastle.[121] In 1729 numerous complaints from the trades of London brought to light agreements and combinations of lightermen and shipmasters to enhance the price, oppress the poor, and lessen the public revenue.[122] In the next year shipmasters of Scarborough, Whitby, Newcastle, Sunderland, and Great Yarmouth, who were employed in carrying coal, sought relief from the oppressive conduct of the lightermen, and asked that the trade might be open.[123] The Lightermen's Company was now thoroughly investigated. Testimony was given to the effect that half of all the coal brought to London was bought by twelve lightermen, and the other half by about forty more. Few coals were sold to persons not of the company, since masters feared to have their ships marked, and then subjected to delays. Two or three lightermen each sold more

in Fuel, from the Year 1664 to this Time, as it lieth before a Committee of Common Council (1680), pp. 2–4.

117 *Brief Animadversions*, etc., p. 183.

118 *The Case of the Watermen and Lightermen working on the River of Thames* (n. p., n. d.).

119 11 William III. c. 21.

120 *The Case of many Persons Keeping Wharfs, and Others, Dealing in Coals, in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Parts Adjacent* (1730?).

121 *Commons' Journals*, XIV. 19.

122 *Id.*, XXI. 345, 368, 369–373.

123 *Ibid.*, pp. 465, 474.

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than 30,000 chaldrons a year, eight or nine others about 20,000 each. Sixteen of the lightermen maintained a fund to prosecute persons who kept lighters and bought coals in London. Not only was the price advanced to consumers, but they had so put down the price paid to shipmasters that the coal-ships were run at a loss.[124] The Commons were resolved to bring this to an end, and so a statute was passed which declared that inasmuch as a monopoly in the coal trade had almost been created at London, thereafter dealers in coals might use their own lighters, and anyone attempting to act as an agent for a shipmaster should be heavily fined.[125] Thus the lightermen's monopoly was brought to an end, while the shipmasters were given the freedom they had desired to dispose of their coals, and the price in London was made subject to the regulation of the local authorities.[126]

Raising prices and restraint of trade were not the only abuses by those seeking profit from selling of coals. Mixing of different grades, false measure, and under-weight were constant evils. Abuse in the sale of coals was noticed in the House of Lords in 1605.[127] Some years later a paper addressed to the privy council complained of "the corrupt mixture of coales, and the foule abuse and deceipt thereby".[128] At the end of the century Charles Povey, a merchant of London, gives his own account how, after adopting a device to unload ships directly at his own wharf, he was subjected to calumny and prosecution because he lowered the price, gave just measure, and refused to bribe officials. In 1700 he published a pamphlet in which he exposed the villainous practices of his time.[129] Next year he wrote again, explaining how the struggle to engross the trade had led to fraud, that prices were reduced below the point where profit could honestly be made, and then short measure given, so that twenty chaldrons were sold as twenty-three, twenty-four, or twenty-five. He declared that dealers undertook to deliver coals for only three shillings more than they paid for them, when they were at four shillings' expense. "The World is now come to that sad pass, that an Honest Man cannot Live; for if he gives to every one his due, he gains nothing; and if he does not

124 *Commons Journals*, XXI. 517, 518.

125 3 George II. c. 26; also 4 George II. c. 30.

126 *The Case of the Owners and Masters of Ships Imployed in the Coal-Trade; an Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance of the Price of Coals*, p. 8.

127 *Lords' Journals*, II. 392.

128 Add. MSS. 12496, f. 96 (1622).

129 *A Discovery of Indirect Practices in the Coal-Trade, or a Detection of the pernicious Maxims and unfair Dealings of a certain Combination of Men, who affirm, It is a Cheat to be Just, and Just to Cheat*, etc. (London, 1700).

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dispose of his Goods at the same Rate as others do, he shall have no Trade." Officials had long been employed to see that full measure was given, but there was private correspondence between the officers and dishonest dealers, so that these dealers were warned and protected, and the honest maligned and harassed.[130] That these measurers of coals were themselves subjected to troubles if they attempted to fulfil their duties honestly is affirmed by a complaint made in 1714. A faithful measurer was often removed from the inspection of a ship on complaint to his superior. "And after a Vatt is filled, the Ships' Crew will often sweep off great Quantities of Coals, and the Under-meter taking Notice thereof is often in danger of his Life for so doing."[131]

Many attempts were made to prevent the mixing of inferior coal with good, and then selling all as of the best quality, but various means were found to evade the regulations. It was asserted that when those who thus cheated their customers lost standing, they attempted to force honest dealers to imitate their conduct, and join in a combination with them, and that after a war of price-cutting they succeeded in doing this, after which prices were raised and the measure lessened.[132] About the middle of the century it was said that where the inspection of the public meter was not feared, the fraud amounted to three bushels in the chaldron; though at the same time it was asserted that the dealers insisted on getting overweight from the lightermen: "It is notorious that Dealers have been hardy enough to complain, because the identical Coals, which they have bought of the Lightermen for Twenty-one, did not measure out Twenty-four Chaldrons."[133]

The story of the laborers where coal was imported is a record of discontent and protest against oppression. Prior to Elizabethan times the unloading of coal-ships in the Thames belonged to the society of "Billingsgate Porters", freemen of London and well organized. In the course of time, however, as the trade greatly increased, the porters ceased to do the actual unloading and became occupied with other parts of the work, after which the unloading came to be done by the coal-heavers, not freemen and not governed by their own rulers.[134]

130 Charles Povey, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30, 31, 32, 40, 41.

131 *The Report and Order Thereupon, made concerning the Coal-Meters, and Their Deputies or Under-Meters* (London, 1714), p. 9.

132 *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance*, etc., pp. 18–21.

133 *Consideration on the Coal Trade, More particularly as it concerns the Consumers within the City and Liberty of Westminister*, etc. (1748?).

134 *The Coal-Heavers Case* (1764?), p. 1.

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In 1696 the coal-heavers complained of new impositions laid upon them by the lord mayor and the aldermen and refused to work. Investigation by the privy council showed that the authorities had "Erected a Fellowship or Fraternity" to unload the colliers, that only its members were to be allowed to do the work, at a certain rate of pay, from which 2d. per chaldron was to be deducted for hospitals and other uses. Both masters of ships and men were discontented at these restrictions, and work was stopped until the old conditions were restored by the lords justices.[135] In 1701 Povey noticed the mean condition to which the coal-heavers had been reduced, they receiving now 7s. where formerly they had 20s.; "and harder Labour there cannot be, for they work more like Gally-slaves than Free-men". As matters were, there was constant competition on the part of these laborers and underbidding, and he thought that the remedy lay in the government settling their wages.[136]

In 1708 the coal-heavers petitioned the queen for a charter of incorporation, which was apparently granted.[137] But half a century after their condition seems to have improved little, for they complained to Parliament that a number of men called "Undertakers" had established a monopoly of supplying laborers to the masters of coal-ships, from whose rules and exactions they prayed relief. They asked that Parliament establish an office for supplying laborers and pass a law to regulate their wages, "that they might be enabled to make such Provision for such of them as may be sick, lame, and past their Labour, and for the Relief of their Widows and Orphans, as should be thought proper". A committee reported that the coal-heavers did hard work for wages which ranged from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per twenty chaldrons, the price of labor varying according to the number of ships in the river. Sometimes when wages were low and a great number of ships arrived, the laborers insisted on higher wages than they had contracted for, without which they would leave the ships which they had engaged to unload. It would be well for the trade if wages were regulated. The men, the report declared, worked in groups of fifteen, one of whom was called the "Market-Man". The undertakers agreed with the masters of the ships for unloading their coals, and then applied to the market-men, who furnished the laborers. There were twenty undertakers, of whom nineteen kept ale-houses in which the coal-heavers were obliged to spend part of their wages daily. Under one pretext or another

[135] St. P. Dom., William and Mary, VI., Aug. 11, 13, 1696.
[136] *The Unhappiness of England*, pp. 46–48.
[137] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CVI., Sept. 14, 1708.

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various deductions were made from the wages, which were not paid until the ship was cleared. Complaint was also made about a combination of the undertakers to compel the coal-heavers to obtain from them their shovels, which were furnished at a shilling a ship. The result was that in 1758 the coal-heavers secured a bill for their relief.[138] An office for the registering of workers was now erected, but the undertakers by intrigue and by threat sought to restrain the men from enrolling, so that later the office was closed for want of support.[139] "It can be proved", said a protest, "that all those who have paid into that Office, have punctually received One Shilling per Day when they have been ill, and in case of Death, they have been buried in a decent and Christian-like Manner."[140]

Thus it is evident that in the English coal trade before the Industrial Revolution many of the practices which obtained afterward flourished in much the same way as later. Capitalists strove by various devices, particularly by combination, to destroy competition, monopolize markets, and fix prices as they desired. The greatest success came to those who seized the routes of transportation and terminal facilities for export and import. Against all such devices the government strove, after its traditional policy of supervising industry for the welfare of the nation, but it strove ineffectively and with decreasing success. The case of the laborers was harder, for trade unions were just feebly beginning. Then, as later, workmen had to endure long hours, low wages, dishonest dealing, and payment in truck. The lowly miners, keelmen, and coal-heavers could easily be oppressed. Frequently they protested, but they could accomplish little. Government attempted to intervene in their behalf, but it also forbade them to strike, and it broke up their combinations. The day of these laborers had not yet come. The eighteenth century was to bring them no amelioration, but in the nineteenth an enlightened public opinion would improve their condition while they and their fellows slowly got more and more control of the government itself, until the beginning of the twentieth was to find them more powerful than the capitalists who opposed them, and able, when they rose now, to shake the foundations of industrial society in their country.

RAYMOND TURNER.

[138] 31 George II. c. 76; *Commons' Journals*, XXVIII. 73, 222, 259, 264, 265.

[139] *The Coal-Heavers Case*, pp. 2, 3; *The Case of the Coal-Heavers, Respecting the Behaviour of the Coal-Undertakers*, etc. (1769?), pp. 1, 2.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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A LETTER FROM DANTON TO MARIE ANTOINETTE

AMONG the papers of the late Andrew D. White, Professor George L. Burr found a photographic reproduction of a letter, which seems to be in the hand of Danton, addressed to Marie Antoinette at the Conciergerie. This brief and curious letter reads as follows:

> A la citoyenne Marie Antoinette Ci-devt Reine de France à la Conciergerie a Paris Citoyenne vous mettrez sur votre porte ces mots— Unité indivisibilité de la Republique liberté égalité fraternité ou la mort Signé Danton.

Marie Antoinette was confined in the Conciergerie from August 2 to October 16, 1793. The words "4 aout", written by another hand in the margin, give the probable approximate date of the letter. At that time Danton was president of the Convention; and the recent transfer of the queen from the Temple to the Conciergerie meant that the Convention had decided to bring her to trial, which in turn meant that her execution within a short time was practically a foregone conclusion. Under these circumstances, why should Danton write to Marie Antoinette? Why should he wish her to place this symbol of the Republic on her door? Were these words on the door intended to serve in some conspiracy to rescue the queen? Were they intended to serve as a protection against outrage or assassination at the hands of the mob? Was the letter forged by the enemies of Danton for the purpose of ruining him? What, in any case, became of the letter? Did the queen receive it? Was it used against Danton at his trial? Is the original still in existence? Is it well known to collectors and historians?

I.

It may be said at once that the letter was practically unknown to contemporaries of the Revolution. It was apparently unknown to modern historians until 1891, when Eugène Welvert printed it in his *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois*. Since then only three writers, so far as I can find, have quoted the letter, all of them taking it from Welvert. All four of these printed reproductions of the letter are inaccurate. The history of the letter is interesting, therefore, because it will show why so little is known about it, besides furnishing some preliminary data for its further explanation.

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The letter was a single small sheet, folded and sealed, and apparently sent by post. It bears three circular red stamps. One is composed of the letters P. B. G., a second of the letters P. D., and the third of the number 4. Upon the stamp P. D. is superimposed a black triangular stamp P. The organization of the Post Office at that time included a Bureau Général, and several subordinate bureaus, one of which was the "Bureau pour la Distribution des Lettres Chargées, Adressées à Paris".[1] Gallois, discussing the organization of the Post Office at an earlier date, says that "letters were stamped with a printed stamp peculiar to each bureau from which they were sent. Each of these bureaus was designated by a letter of the alphabet represented on the special stamp which it used."[2] It seems reasonable to conclude that the P. B. G. stood for "Poste: Bureau Général", the P. D. for "Pour Distribution", and the superimposed P. for "Paris". The number 4 probably indicates the charge, which was four sous for simple letters of one quarter-ounce or less, within the limits of a single department.[3] A fifth stamp on the letter, somewhat illegible, appears to be "6e LVE." *Sixième Levée* suggests itself; but, unfortunately for this reading, there were at most only three collections daily at the time.[4]

Although it seems evident, from these marks, that the letter went through the Post Office, this very fact, if it be one, raises a significant question. If the letter was a forgery, intended to ruin Danton, one can well understand that it should have been sent by post. But if the letter is genuine, if Danton wrote the letter and wished to convey it to the queen, one asks why he should have intrusted it to the post. Marie Antoinette was carefully guarded at the Conciergerie; so much so that in September a note smuggled in, concealed in a bouquet of flowers, was nevertheless discovered by the guards.[5] It might seemingly be taken for granted by anyone, certainly by Danton, that all letters sent through the Post Office addressed to the

[1] *Almanac National* (1793), p. 483.

[2] *La Poste et les Moyens de Communication* (Paris, 1894), p. 120.

[3] Decree of August, 1791. *Collection Générale des Lois*, etc. (Paris, 1792), V. 934. "Seront taxées comme lettres simples celles sans enveloppes et dont le poids n'excédera un quart d'once." Decree of July 23, 1793. *Collection Générale des Lois*, etc. (Paris, An II.), XV. 180.

[4] *Almanac Royal* (1792), p. 631. Of the two words at the top of the second half of the sheet, one, which I take to be *inique*, seems to be in the hand of Fouquier; the other may be *perfide*, or, what seems to me more likely, the first four letters of the signature of L. Lecointre.

[5] The incident was known as "La Conspiration de l'Oeillet". *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXXIX. 548; Campardon, *Marie Antoinette à la Conciergerie*, p. 3; Tuetey, *Sources de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. IX. p. 393, no. 1303.

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queen would as a matter of course be intercepted and turned over to the government.[6]

Such in fact seems to have been the fate of this letter. In the first place there is no evidence that the queen ever received it. There are several contemporary accounts of the queen's life at the Conciergerie written by people whose duty it was to guard or serve her, and the subject has been minutely investigated by historians since.[7] None of these accounts, contemporary or secondary, mentions this letter, or any letter which might have been this one, as having been either received by the queen or later discovered among her effects. In the second place, evidence that the letter was turned over to the government is contained in the letter itself; for across the face of the letter we find the personal signatures of five men: A. Q. Fouquier, Massieu, Legot, Guffroy, L. Lecointre. The signature of Fouquier indicates that the letter was turned over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Besides, the last letter written by Marie Antoinette, the famous "testament" addressed to her sister Madame Elizabeth, which also bears the signature of Fouquier, we know to have been turned over to the Tribunal.[8] This letter the queen entrusted to Bault, the concierge, to deliver. That evening Bault said to his wife: "Your poor Queen has written; she gave me her letter, but I cannot send it to its address. It is necessary to carry it to Fouquier."[9] It thus seems to have been an understood thing that letters written by the queen were to be carried to Fouquier. The presumption is that it was equally understood that all letters written to her were to be disposed of in the same way.

Fouquier-Tinville thus came into possession of the letter, in all probability before the trial of Danton, since the death of Marie Antoinette fell on October 16, 1793, and the trial of Danton was not until April 2–5, 1794. If this may be assumed, it is difficult to

[6] A decree of May 9, 1793, provided for the examination by agents of the Commune of all letters at the Post Office addressed to persons whose names appeared on the list of émigrés. This list included most suspects, whether they had actually emigrated or not. *Collection Générale des Lois*, etc. (Paris, An II.), XV. 307.

[7] *Cf.* contemporary narratives given by Lenôtre, *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette*, pp. 215 ff.; and the documents used by Campardon in his careful study, *Marie Antoinette à la Conciergerie*. For the bibliography of works dealing with Marie Antoinette at the Conciergerie, see Tourneux. *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. IV., nos. 21209–21254.

[8] Dunoyer, *Fouquier-Tinville*, p. 4; Lenôtre, *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette*, pp. 386, 387.

[9] *Récit Exact des Derniers Momens de . . . la Reine . . . par la Dame Bault* (Paris, 1817), p. 15. Printed in full in Lenôtre, *La Captivité*, etc., pp. 277, 290. Quoted in Pallet, *La Conciergerie*, p. 196.

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suppose that he did not make use of it as evidence against Danton. It was no easy matter to bring the jury to the point of convicting Danton; and in the absence of definite evidence of guilt, this letter would have been precisely suited to the purpose of convincing the jury. The trial of Danton has been exhaustively studied by historians having access to all the available evidence;[10] but no one has thus far found in the sources any explicit reference to the Danton letter. In fact, of all those who have written about the trial of Danton, no one except Mathiez appears to be aware that such a letter is, or ever was, in existence. Mathiez quotes the letter, although inaccurately, and says it was "perhaps" one of the "secret documents" which were shown to the jury on the last day of the trial.[11] Our knowledge of these "secret documents" rests upon the statement of one of the clerks of the Tribunal, N. J. Paris, who afterwards, at the trial of Fouquier-Tinville, deposed that on the last day of Danton's trial one of the jurors, Topino-Lebrun, "me dit qu'Herman et Fouquier les avaient engagés à declarer qu'ils étaient suffisamment instruits et que, pour les déterminer, ils avaient peint les accusés comme des scélérats, des conspirateurs, et leur avaient présenté une lettre qu'ils disaient venir de l'étranger et qu'était adressée à Danton".[12] Such a letter as this has never been discovered; and it may be that the letter which Herman and Fouquier showed to the jury was this one of Danton to Marie Antoinette, which Paris later, at the trial of Fouquier, remembered as having been, or as having been reported to him as being (there is no evidence that Paris saw the letter, whatever it was), a letter from "abroad addressed to Danton".

However that may be (I shall return to this point presently), it is certain that Fouquier had the letter before or after the trial of Danton, since it bears his signature. It will be remembered that there are four other signatures on the letter: Massieu, Legot, Guf-

[10] *Cf.* the careful study of Robinet, *Le Procès des Dantonistes* (Paris, 1879), based upon the documents, most of which are printed in the appendix; Beesley, *Life of Danton* (London, 1899); Belloc, *Danton* (London, 1899); Madelin, *Danton* (Paris, 1914); Claretie, *Camille Desmoulins, Lucile Desmoulins, Étude sur les Dantonistes* (Paris, 1875); Mathiez, *Danton et la Paix* (Paris, 1919). For the literature of the Danton trial, see Tuetey, *Sources*, vol. XI., p. 126, nos. 249–877.

[11] *Danton et la Paix*, p. 247.

[12] "Déclaration de Nicolas-Joseph Paris, dit Fabricius, au Procès de Fouquier-Tinville." Printed in full in Dunoyer, *Fouquier-Tinville*, pp. 322, 330; and also, with slight verbal differences, in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, pp. 590, 593. See especially, on this matter, Joseph Reinach, "La Pièce Secrète du Procès Danton", in his *Essais de Politique et d'Histoire*, p. 333.

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froy, L. Lecointre. These four men were members of the Convention; and three of them were appointed, 23 Thermidor, members of a commission to examine the "papiers de Robespierre, Saint-Just, Lebas . . . et autre complices . . . et en faire un rapport à la Convention Nationale".[13] Fouquier-Tinville was arrested on the 14 Thermidor, at which time his papers were placed under seals;[14] and it is probable that the commission appointed on the 23d to examine the papers of Robespierre "et autre complices" took over those of Fouquier also. Thus the Danton letter, found among the papers either of Robespierre or of Fouquier, passed into the hands of the commission. Of this commission, the secretary or recorder was E. B. Courtois, to whom the commission turned over the papers that came into its possession, in order that he might prepare a report to the Convention. Courtois spent some months in preparing his report, which was finally presented January 5, 1795.[15] The report quotes at length from the papers in Courtois's possession, but it does not mention the Danton letter. The reason is obvious. Courtois was a friend of Danton, and the purpose of the report was to make

[13] *Moniteur,* 24 Thermidor, An II., no. 324, vol. X., p. 1323. The full commission appointed on the 23d was made up of L. Lecointre, Bourdon de l'Oise, Charlier, Guffroy, Calès, Beaupré, Perrin des Vosges, Massieu, Clausel, Gauthier, Ch. Duval, Audonin. The name of Legot, one of the four whose names are on the Danton letter, is not in the list; but it is probable that some changes in the personnel of the commission were made. E. B. Courtois, the secretary of the commission, said in 1816 that "après la mort de Robespierre, il y eut successivement deux Commissions de nommés. . . . La première, n'ayant pas, par esprit de parti, répondu à la confiance de l'Assemblée il en fut nommé une seconde dont je fis partie." Lenôtre, *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette,* p. 391; Welvert, *Lendemains Révolutionnaires,* p. 282. I have not found any record of the appointment of two commissions; but that there were changes in personnel is confirmed by the pamphlet, *Discours Prononcé par Robespierre à la Convention dans la Séance du 8 Thermidor.* In this pamphlet it is stated that the manuscript was found among the papers of Robespierre, by the commission, and that it was ordered printed by the commission. This statement is signed: Guffroy, president; Lecointre, Clausel, Calès, Massieu, J. Espert. The last name, Espert, like that of Legot on the Danton letter, is not among the list of commissioners appointed on the 23d. That Legot became a member of the commission some time after its original creation is evident enough, since his signature appears not only on the Danton letter, but also on a number of other documents found among the papers of Robespierre or Fouquier. *Cf.* Lenôtre, *op. cit.,* p. 384.

[14] Dunoyer, *op. cit.,* pp. 149, 155. *Moniteur,* 15 Thermidor, An II. (Aug. 2, 1794), no. 315.

[15] *Moniteur,* An III., no. 108. The report is printed in nos. 150–152, 154–162. It was also printed separately as a pamphlet: *Rapport fait au Nom de la Commission chargée de l'Examen des Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre et ses Complices,* par E. B. Courtois (Paris, Nivôse, An III.); printed also as the introduction to *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre,* etc. (Paris, 1828, 3 vols.).

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a strong case against Robespierre and his associates, whereas the Danton letter would rather have been a point in Robespierre's favor. In fact, after the death of Robespierre, all of those who are known to have seen the Danton letter, with the one exception of Fouquier-Tinville,[16] had sufficient reasons for saying nothing about it, with the result that there seems to be no mention of the letter in all the contemporary literature of the Revolution.

Not until 1816 do I find any mention of it. On January 25 of that year, E. B. Courtois, finding himself, as one of the regicides, in imminent danger of exile, wrote to Councillor of State Becquey a letter in which he tried to make his peace with the restored Bour-

[16] Why Fouquier did not call for the Danton letter in his own defense is an interesting question. One of the chief charges against him at his trial was that of having forced the condemnation of Danton without evidence. One would expect him to make some reference to the Danton letter. Perhaps he had forgotten it. In general, his defense consisted mainly in saying that he had obeyed orders, and was not responsible. For a full account of Fouquier's trial, see Dunoyer, *Fouquier-Tinville*. Other men whose interest it was to make known the Danton letter were Barère, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varenne. In their long and losing fight after the fall of Robespierre, particularly in connection with the denunciation of Lecointre, and the subsequent rehabilitation of Lecointre's charges by the Commission of Twenty-One, they had need of every fact which would help to justify the execution of Danton, which was a capital point in the charges against the members of the old committee. All three men defended themselves repeatedly, both in the Convention and in printed pamphlets. Their defense, in respect to the execution of Danton, was essentially that Danton was a traitor. "If the execution of Danton is a crime", said Billaud, "I accuse myself of it; for I was the first to denounce him. I saw that if this man existed, liberty would perish. If he were alive he would be the rallying point for all the counter-revolutionists." *Les Crimes de Sept Membres des Anciens Comités*, p. 25. Here was the obvious opportunity to refer to the Danton letter, if Billaud knew of its existence. He does not refer to it, nor do any of the others, so far as I can find. For the Lecointre denunciation and debate, see *Moniteur*, 14–15 Fructidor, An II. (Aug. 29–30, 1794), nos. 344, 345. The Commission of Twenty-One was appointed Dec. 27, 1794, to examine the conduct of Billaud, Collot, Barère, and Vadier. *Id.*, 9 Nivôse, An III. Saladin reported for the commission on the 12 Ventôse (Mar. 2, 1795). *Id.*, 14 Ventôse, An III., no. 164. The charges were discussed in the Convention on 4–8 Germinal. *Id.*, 7–12 Germinal, An III., nos. 187–192. There is also considerable pamphlet literature on this matter: *Rapport au nom de la Commission des Vingt-un* (Paris, 28 Ventôse, An III.); *Réponse des Membres des Deux Anciens Comités aux Pièces communiquées par la Commission des Vingt-un*; *Réponse de J. N. Billaud à Laurent Lecointre*; *J. M. Collot à ses Collègues, Reflexions rapides sur l'Imprimé Publié par Lecointre contre Sept Membres des Anciens Comités*; *Défense de J. M. Collot Représentant du Peuple*; *Seconde Suite aux Éclaircissemens Nécessaires, donnés par J. M. Collot*; *Discours fait à la Convention Nationale par J. M. Collot . . . 4 Germinal, An III.*; *Discours prononcé par Robert Lindet . . . sur les Dénonciations portées contre l'Ancient Comité de Salut Public et le Rapport de la Commission des 21.*

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bon government. In this letter he asserted that he had in his possession certain documents and articles of peculiar interest to the royal family; documents which, he says, he extracted from the Robespierre papers in his possession in 1794, and which he had secretly and carefully kept ever since with the intention, at the proper time, of restoring them to the Bourbon family. These documents and articles, of which there were ten, he enumerated and described in his letter to Becquey. The first and most important was the famous last letter of Marie Antoinette to her sister Madame Elizabeth. The last one, number 10, Courtois describes as "une petite lettre, avec la prétendue signature de Danton, adressée à la Reine, ainsi conçue: '*Citoyenne, Mettez sur votre porte ces mots: Unité, indivisibilité de la République, liberté, égalité, fraternité ou la mort.* Signé Danton.' "[17] Courtois did not have the letter before him when he wrote. He quoted the Danton letter from memory, or from a copy; and it is important to note that he quoted it incorrectly: he makes it read *mettez sur votre porte,* instead of *vous mettrez sur votre porte.*

Courtois did not succeed in saving himself from exile; and meantime his residence was raided by the police, who carried off all his papers, a great mass of documents which he had used in 1794 for preparing his report to the Convention, including the ten pieces he had enumerated in his communication to the Councillor Becquey. These ten pieces, all relating to Marie Antoinette, were turned over to Louis XVIII. The king at once made known the discovery of the last letter of Marie Antoinette to her sister, which was ordered read in all the churches, and of which engraved copies were made and presented to the members of the Chamber of Peers.[18] But the Danton letter was not published or made known. No member of the Bourbon family would wish to have it known that Marie Antoinette had been, or might be supposed to have been, under obligation to Danton. The letter was a curiosity, no doubt, and one which might well be given, as such, to some friend who cared for that kind of thing; and in fact it seems that the king gave the letter to one of the peers, in whose family archives it remained until it was

[17] This letter from Courtois to Becquey remained in the archives, apparently unknown to historians, until printed in 1891 by Eugène Welvert in his book *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois,* p. 17. It is given in full by Lenôtre, who took it from Welvert, in his *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette,* p. 384; and in Welvert, *Lendemains Révolutionnaires,* p. 268.

[18] Welvert, *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois,* pp. 21, 27; Lenôtre, *op. cit.,* p. 393; Campardon, *op. cit.,* p. 251. The Cornell University Library has the letter in a printed broadside of 1816, and also one of the engraved copies of the original.

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purchased for an American collector, the late John Boyd Thacher. As part of the Thacher Collection it was exhibited in 1905 at the Lenox branch of the New York Public Library, and is described and accurately quoted in the printed catalogue of that exhibition.[19] It was Mr. Thacher who had the photographic reproduction made which Professor Burr found among the papers of Mr. White. The original is now in Washington, the Thacher Collection having been presented recently to the Library of Congress.

Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that the Danton letter should have long remained practically unknown. So far as I can learn few historians have seen the original. Apparently, no French historian knew of the existence of such a letter until 1891, when Eugène Welvert printed the inaccurate copy of it which Courtois made in 1816 in his letter to the Councillor of State Becquey.[20] Since then the letter has been quoted by three different historians, Lenôtre,[21] Blottière,[22] and Albert Mathiez.[23] Blottière assures his readers that the original still exists and that facsimiles of it have been circulated. Mathiez says that he has seen a facsimile. However that may be, all three writers, including Mathiez, have evidently taken the letter from Welvert, for they quote it in part only, without the address; they quote it inaccurately, making it read *mettez* instead of *vous mettrez*; and they quote it with certain punctuation-marks although the original is without punctuation: that is to say, they all quote the letter exactly as they found it given in Welvert, who in turn gave it as he found it in the Courtois letter of 1816.

II

Such briefly is the history of the Danton letter. What was its purpose? Was Danton involved in some plot to rescue the Queen

[19] *Outlines of the French Revolution told in Autographs exhibited at the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library, March 20, 1905.* No. 280. The Danton letter, according to the description here given, "came into the present collection from a Ducal house in France, the first Duke receiving it from the hands of Louis XVIII. in 1816". Mrs. Thacher does not remember anything more than is related above about the circumstances under which her husband came into possession of the letter. To Mr. W. G. Leland, who has compared the photographic reproduction with the original, and read the proofs of this article, I am under obligations for many valuable suggestions.

[20] *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois* (Paris, 1891), p. 17. Welvert printed the letter of Courtois again in 1907, in his *Lendemains Révolutionnaires*, p. 268.

[21] *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette* (Paris, 1897), p. 384.

[22] In an article on "Courtois et la Duchesse de Choiseul", *Annales Révolutionnaires*, V. 33.

[23] *Danton et la Paix* (Paris, 1919), p. 247.

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from the Conciergerie? Or was his purpose merely to guard her against anticipated assassination at the hands of the mob? Let us consider the first of these suppositions.

That there were royalist plots to rescue the queen is well known. In July, 1793, there was a carefully worked-out plot known to have been directed by Baron Batz, and involving among others a certain Michonis, a police commissioner on guard at the Temple. On the evening of the day fixed for executing the plot, a note was found at the door of the Temple in these words: "Michonis trahira cette nuit. Veillez." Michonis was at once replaced by Simon, and the scheme had to be abandoned. It was partly as a consequence of this discovery that Marie Antoinette was removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie on August 2. In September and October various schemes were in hand, under the direction of Count Rougeville, for removing the queen from the Conciergerie. All these efforts have been subject to a good deal of special investigation; but no one has brought to light anything in the nature of specific contemporary evidence which implicates Danton in the Batz plot or in the schemes of Rougeville.[24] At the time of his trial Danton was of course charged with "royalism". This was the stock charge; but in the case of Danton the only specific evidence publicly brought forward was a passage in a letter from the Spanish ambassador at Venice to Godoy, dated July 31, 1793. The passage is as follows: "The Commune of Paris pretends that an agent of the Prince of Coburg has communicated with the Queen, that Danton and Lacroix, who

[24] For a careful study of these plots, see Lecestre, "Les Tentatives d'Evasion de Marie Antoinette au Temple et à la Conciergerie", *Revue des Questions Historiques,* XXXIX. 510–568; *cf.* Campardon, *Marie Antoinette à la Conciergerie,* ch. I., pp. 139–161, 181–207; Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes,* p. 311 ff. Élie Lacoste, in his report to the Convention, June 13, 1794, on the Batz conspiracy, gave a list of some thirty-five people supposed to be implicated with Batz. He mentions the Danton-Lacroix faction as one of the "branches de celle dont nous venons vous dévoiler les forfaits". No proof of this is offered except the statement that Danton was known to have met Batz frequently. *Rapport sur la Conspiration de Batz,* pp. 6, 9. *Moniteur,* 27 Prairial, An II., no. 267. Baron Batz denied ever having seen Danton. "Je n'ai vu de ma vie la figure de Danton, ni celle de Lacroix. Je n'ai eu relations quelconques, directes ni indirectes avec eux." *La Conjuration de l'Étranger et le Baron Batz,* quoted in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes,* p. 325. In recent years Albert Mathiez, the valiant defender of Robespierre, has had a sharp eye out for every kind of evidence which might discredit Danton's loyalty to the Revolution. In two recent books he has gathered together all this fragmentary evidence; but it seems to me that his conclusions reach farther than the facts, and in any case he does not seem to have advanced any specific evidence to prove that Danton was implicated in the Batz or Rougeville plots. *Cf. La Révolution et les Étrangers,* ch. XI.; *Danton et la Paix,* chs. VII., VIII.

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were of the Mountain party, have become Girondins and have had conferences with her Majesty."[25] Saint-Just, in his denunciation of Danton before the Convention at the time of the latter's arrest, refers to this letter;[26] but if the Revolutionary Tribunal had further evidence of Danton's complicity in the royalist plots it did not produce it.

It was not until after the Revolution that we find this charge of "royalism" in its most circumstantial form. The unprinted "Memoirs" of Boissy d'Anglas, written probably about 1798 during the period of his exile after the 18 Fructidor, contain this passage:

> It is very true that when Danton was arrested he had in hand the project of forcing the Temple, of seizing the son of Louis XVI., of proclaiming him king and of presenting him to the people throughout the city. They were to name a council of regency of which Danton was to be the chief, and the principles of humanity which have reigned since the 9 Thermidor would have obtained from this period. . . . Fabre d'Eglantine, Heraut [Hérault], Danton, Lacroix, and Camille Desmoulins were the authors of this project. Danton was to have presented the child to the people and to the army. The Committee of Public Safety learned of the project, and Saint-Just said a few words about it in his report without, however, entering into details. Before this period it was the Duke of Orléans whom these same men wished to place on the throne.[27]

The "Memoirs" of Boissy d'Anglas were written from memory at a time when he had become an advocate of moderate constitutional government; and the passage quoted is obviously inspired by the desire to throw on Robespierre the odium of the Terror and the responsibility for delaying the establishment of a more moderate system. His version of Danton's royalism is no more than the old charge which was current at the time of Danton's arrest—the story which Boissy, like every one else, was familiar with at the time. A brief history of this story will show, I think, that the charge of "royalism" which was current at the time of Danton's execution, and which Boissy revived in 1798, rested upon fragile foundations.

The origin of this story takes us back to the insurrection of August 10, 1792. Gouverneur Morris, writing to Jefferson, December 21, 1792, says: "Shortly after the 10th of August, I had infor-

[25] The original, in Spanish, was found among the papers of Robespierre. The letter is printed, in Spanish and French, in *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre* (Paris, 1828), III. 388. The extract is quoted in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, p. 312.

[26] *Moniteur*, 12 Germinal, An II. (Apr. 1, 1794), no. 192, p. 779. Given also in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, p. 488.

[27] *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, Mar. 30, 1901, p. 529; *La Révolution Française*, XL. 460.

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mation on which you may rely, that the plan of Danton was to obtain the resignation of the King, to get himself appointed Chief of a Council of Regency, composed of his creatures, during the minority of the Dauphin. This idea has never, I believe, been wholly abandoned."[28] All this, it will be remembered, relates to the tenth of August, 1792, before the Republic had been established, before the king had been executed, when everyone was asking what was to be done with him. The idea of a regency was not an uncommon one at that time; and it is quite possible that Danton was in favor of it. But a year later the situation had wholly changed. The Republic had been established, the king had been executed, the Terror was the order of the day. In August, 1792, a man might well be a patriot and still openly advocate a regency; but to do so in August, 1793, would have been regarded as the blackest of treasons. Yet the project of a regency, originally attributed to Danton in August, 1792, continued to be associated with his name throughout the Revolution.

On December 3, 1793, Robespierre throws a curious light on the status of the story at that time. That evening, at the Jacobin Club, Danton was attacked by Coupé, and Robespierre made a speech in his defense:

> I request that you consent to make these grievances against him [Danton] more specific. No one speaks? Well then, I will do it. Danton! You (*tu*) are accused of having emigrated; they say that you got away into Switzerland; that your illness was feigned in order to conceal your flight from the people; they say that your ambition was to be regent under Louis XVII.; that at a certain date everything had been prepared for proclaiming him; that you were the chief of the conspiracy; that neither Pitt, nor Coburg, nor England, nor Austria, nor Prussia was our real enemy, but that you alone were.[29]

The tone is ironical. The implication is that the charges are so many, so contradictory, and so absurd that they refute themselves; the implication is that these are commonplaces with which everyone is familiar and which no one believes. It may well be that Robespierre's speech had a hostile intent; that he wished to repeat once more these charges that they might be kept alive against the day when they could be used. But for our purpose the significance of the speech is the same in any case; and that significance is that in

[28] *Life and Correspondence of Gouverneur Morris*, II. 261. The queen appears to have relied upon Danton during the crisis of August 10. *Cf.* Beauchesne, *Louis XVII.*, I. 182; Lafayette, *Mémoires*, III. 376; Madelin, *Danton*, p. 99. See also the Courtois narrative given below, pp. 37–38.

[29] Aulard, *Jacobins*, V. 543.

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December, 1793, the story that Danton wished to be regent under Louis XVII. was a familiar commonplace which could not be taken seriously.

Six weeks later this old story of a project to proclaim the dauphin is related by Couthon as something recently unearthed. There has recently been discovered, he writes on January 18, "an infamous project, of which the object was to have been, at that time, to drive out the Mountain deputies, to deliver Marie Antoinette, who was then at the Conciergerie, and to proclaim at once the petit Capet king of France".[30] Danton is not yet connected with this newly discovered project; but by April Danton has been found to be the prime mover in it. On April 5, the last day of Danton's trial, Couthon writes that the plan was "to go to the Temple, take out the child Capet, and have him proclaimed, as had long since been decreed by Danton (the Chancellor), who, within a few hours, will be the guillotined".[31] Gouverneur Morris now recalled the letter he wrote in December, 1792, in which, he says, "I mentioned the plan of Danton, adding that I believed that it had never been wholly abandoned. His late execution will show that faith to have been well founded."[32] About the same time he writes:

> Danton always believed, and . . . always maintained, that a popular system of government for this country was absurd; that the people were too ignorant, too inconstant, and too corrupt to support a legal administration; that, habituated to obey, they required a master. . . . The Dantonists supposed, that in want of respect for the rulers, the people would readily turn on the little prisoner in the Temple, that enthusiastic sentiment so congenial to the heart of man, so essential to that which beats in a French bosom.[33]

Four months later the story is repeated, with variations, by Mallet-du-Pan. August 3, 1794, he writes, apropos of Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, Robert Lindet, and the Conventionnels who overthrew Robespierre:

> I know that their ultimate thought tends to a counter-revolution, but made in their own manner, and not in that of the Émigrés and Mr. Burke. Their leaders were united with Danton, executed for having intrigued to proclaim the king Louis XVII. and M. Malesherbes regent. They would have nothing to do with Monsieur, or M. Count d'Artois. Probably they were leagued with the Constitutionals and Federalists.[34]

[30] *Correspondance de Georges Couthon*, p. 284.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

[32] *Life and Correspondence*, II. 427.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[34] Mallet-du-Pan to the Earl of Elgin. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report*, App. V., p. 616.

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It is no longer Danton alone who would have proclaimed the dauphin, but Collot and Billaud, the very men who were the first to denounce Danton for this crime; it is no longer Danton alone who allied himself with the Girondins, but the very men of the Convention who destroyed the Girondins.

It needs no great insight to detect in the history of this story the familiar operation of the revolutionary psychology which attributed in succession, to each faction as it was brought to the scaffold, the stock charge of royalism. Who indeed was not charged with royalism? If we are to believe official denunciators and the records of the Revolutionary Tribunal, the most prominent royalists are to be found among the leaders of the Revolution: Barnave, Dumouriez, Lafayette, Philippe Égalité, Brissot, Roland, Madame Roland, Hébert, Danton, Robespierre—all good patriots in their day. "As for the proclamation of the young Capet king of France", Lenôtre very justly says, "it was, in this terrible epoch, an accusation so banal and so current that it had come to be a commonplace."[35] If the charge against Danton is more precise than it is against others, the explanation is doubtless that in August, 1792, he had perhaps actually proposed a regency in behalf of the dauphin; a proposal which, legitimate enough at the time it was made, was remembered against him throughout the Revolution, being, so to speak, redated to suit any desired occasion. It is this charge, which in December, 1793, was so banal that no one believed it, and which in April, 1794, was without further proof sufficiently convincing to send Danton to the guillotine—it is this old story, and no more than this, that Boissy d'Anglas related in his memoirs, with the addition of a few details which the passage of time perhaps had enabled him to recall.

In the course of years another story, somewhat related to the old one, made its appearance. The source of this new story is E. B. Courtois. It will be remembered that in 1816 Courtois tried to make his peace with the Bourbon government, and that the government, instead of granting him the amnesty he desired, seized and carried off his papers. In 1833, his son, Henri Courtois, having failed to induce the government to return to him his father's papers, brought suit to compel their restoration. The suit failed; and in 1834 Henri Courtois published a curious brochure, now rather rare, entitled *L'Affaire de l'ex-Conventionnel Courtois*. In this work, as in his previous correspondence with the government, he endeavored to make out that his father—his father, who had voted for the

[35] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1920, p. 132.

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death of Louis XVI.—was a royalist sympathizer even during the Revolution. Referring to the fact that his father had carefully preserved the documents relating to Marie Antoinette, he says:

> One can the better understand this conduct when one knows that an audacious project for carrying away the queen was to have been attempted by Danton and my father, who was the soul of the affair. Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth were to have been carried off by main force from the Temple, and transported to a foreign country. The proof of this fact is in one of the Danton letters which was seized by the police. The means of execution are there described, and they reveal that characteristic audacity which distinguished that energetic man.[36]

This version rests on the word of Henri Courtois, which is, it seems, to be taken with caution.[37] He refers to a letter of Danton among his father's papers which were seized by the police in 1816. This letter is probably not now in existence;[38] but in some rough manuscript "notes" which the elder Courtois prepared from the papers in his possession we find the following account of a plan which is undoubtedly the one referred to by Henri Courtois:

> A short time before the 10th of August [1792] Danton was admitted, with the knowledge of the king, to the Tuileries, by the Queen Marie Antoinette, who seemed not to realize the perils that menaced her. The future appeared to her so far from alarming that in dismissing Danton she said to him gaily: "Ah, M. Danton, if we are not well-behaved it will be necessary to shut us up in some prison for a few months." . . . Danton, who was saddened by this dangerous security, assured the Queen, in taking leave of her, that whatever happened he and his friends would watch over her and her children. [He relates that the Duchesse de Choiseul, soon after the execution of the king, determined to rescue the queen on account of the menacing attitude of the Commune.] Without hesitating, I entered into her plans (*je m'associai à ses idées*), and

[36] I have not seen H. Courtois's book. The extract above is taken from the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, XXII. (1889) 195.

[37] *Cf.* Favret, "Procès des Papiers de Courtois", *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française*, VI. 212; and Welvert, *Lendemains Révolutionnaires*, p. 249 ff.

[38] It seems not entirely clear what became of the Courtois papers, but it is likely that many of them were destroyed in the Paris fire of 1871. *Cf. La Grande Encyclopédie* (art. Courtois); *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, May 30, 1904, p. 779. The so-called Robespierre papers taken over by the commission of which Courtois was secretary in 1794, and which presumably made a considerable part of the "Courtois papers", were published in three volumes in 1828: *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre, Saint-Just, Payan, etc., supprimés ou omis par Courtois; précédés du Rapport de ce Député à la Convention Nationale* (Paris, 1828, 3 vols.). According to Tourneux, the editor was Denis-Alexandre Martin, who left a part of the original papers to Jacques Charavay. Tourneux, *Bib. de l'Hist. de Paris*, vol. I., p. 392, no. 4297.

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Danton, to whom I recalled the promise he had made to this unhappy princess, promised to aid us. The entire Convention was averse to the projects of the Commune, but from fear they left the way clear to the encroachments of this power. . . . We attempted for some time to arouse certain members to make a resistance; not being able to attain this end, the project of carrying away the Queen was definitely arranged. . . . The interior of the Temple was won over, and in spite of the surveillance of the Commune, two of its members aided us. The dispositions were so well made that the alarm would not have been given until twenty-four hours after the flight. A few days only were wanting for the realization of our wishes, when the Duchesse de Choiseul . . . conceived the design of carrying the Dauphin away with his mother. This was adding much to the difficulties and perils of the enterprise, since the child had already been separated from his mother; but I at once put my hand to the task. Danton . . . rejected this idea emphatically, and said to me that we were undoubtedly being made the instruments of some dynastic machination or other. "I will no longer meddle with it", he added; "do not speak to me again of this affair." I allowed this flurry (*bourasque*) to pass, and shortly after returned to the charge by recalling to him his promise made to the Queen, and by saying that it would be casting reflections on the Duchesse de Choiseul to suppose that she entertained some ulterior idea of a compromising intrigue. Danton, greatly agitated, strode up and down the room; after half an hour he said to me: "Make my excuses to Madame de Choiseul and continue the preparations. This is a question of preventing useless, atrocious crimes: count on me."

He was so completely freed from his suspicions, so decided to dare all, that the next day but one he wrote to me: "My dear Courtois, I dined today with some colleagues whom I found indifferent, or prepared to submit to the insolence of the Commune. We must therefore hasten the *dênouement*. The bearer of this is the trustworthy fellow (*brave*) who will accompany the fugitives; put him in touch with the one you have chosen, and let them get acquainted like boon companions (*et qu'ils fassent connaissance le verre à la main*). No luxury, none of that baggage which betrayed them at Varennes, and all will go well. The Commune will roar, but this will be the occasion to chastise it and to renew the unity of power. Once successful, every one will be for us; if we slip up the contrary will be true, we shall have to defend ourselves then and God knows what will happen. We must be ready for anything. Your friend Danton."

Everything seemed to favor this project, which was on the point of execution when, during the first days of August, the Commune . . . became suspicious and suddenly transferred Marie Antoinette to the Conciergerie, where the most careful surveillance was exercised. From this moment all hope vanished; rescue was henceforth impossible.[39]

The story is very circumstantial. It is known that Courtois was on good terms with the Duchesse de Choiseul; and there are letters

[39] *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, Apr. 15, 1901, p. 642; *La Révolution Française*, XL. 462. For the character of the Courtois "notes", see *La Grande Encyclopédie* (art. Courtois); *Annales Révolutionnaires*, V. 29; *La Révolution Française*, XII. 806 ff.

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extant from the duchess to Courtois in which she declares herself to be under great obligations to him for the most signal services.[40] Undoubtedly no one ever suspected Courtois of royalist sympathies before 1814, and the obvious desire of the man after that date to curry favor with the Bourbons does a good deal to discredit his statements. Yet the story can scarcely be dismissed as an exaggeration due to faulty memory or the desire to present himself in the light of a royalist sympathizer. If his story is not substantially true it must have been in the main deliberately invented. If true, the plot obviously belongs to late July, 1793, just before the removal of the queen to the Conciergerie. This was also the exact date of the Batz plot. Was the Courtois scheme, then, a part of the Batz plot? There are some difficulties in thinking so. We know that the Batz plot was betrayed, and that this betrayal was a cause of removing Marie Antoinette to the Conciergerie; whereas Courtois says it was the removal of the queen to the Conciergerie that caused the failure of the plot in which he and Danton were involved. Furthermore, Courtois does not mention Batz, or Michonis, or anyone else known to have been connected with the Batz plot; and, on the other hand, none of the evidence on which our knowledge of the Batz plot rests mentions Danton or Courtois, either as leaders or as accessories. Were there then two separate plots scheduled to come off at the same time?

It is quite possible, but for our purpose the point need not be determined. It is sufficient to say that even if Danton were engaged in a scheme to rescue Marie Antoinette (a supposition not at all difficult to entertain), his motive was, by Courtois's account of it, not to restore the monarchy, but to prevent "useless, atrocious crimes"—a very different matter indeed. In any case, the Danton letter to the queen, with which we are chiefly concerned, seems not to be connected with the Batz plot or the Courtois-Danton plot. The Batz plot fell through before the queen was removed from the Temple; the Courtois-Danton plot, according to Courtois, became impossible of execution from the moment of her removal; yet the Danton letter is addressed to the queen at the Conciergerie and was written, to the best of our knowledge, two days after her arrival there. It is too much to suppose that a third plot could have been devised within two days after the event which, according to Courtois, destroyed all hope of attaining their ends.

On the whole, therefore, although we may accept the hypothesis that Danton was involved in a plot to rescue the queen in order to

[40] *Annales Révolutionnaires*, V. 23 ff.

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preserve her life, there is no evidence which would lead us to suppose that the letter in question was in any way connected with that plot. Let us then seek an explanation of the letter on the assumption that, the project of a rescue having failed, Danton was still endeavoring to preserve the queen's life by other methods.

III.

It is important to note that the date of the letter was probably August 4, 1793. Was there at that time any special reason to suppose the queen might be in danger of assassination? That such danger was commonly supposed to exist can be easily shown. The period from the middle of July to the middle of August was one of very high nervous tension at Paris. Generally speaking, this was the most critical stage in the fortunes of the Revolution. France was being invaded on every side by the armed coalition of Europe, while serious royalist and federalist insurrections existed in the north, west, and south. But aside from the general situation, there were two special causes of excitement and alarm. One of these was the assassination of Marat on July 13; the other was the approaching fête of August 10, designed as a solemn celebration of the first anniversary of the fall of the monarchy.

The assassination of Marat was planned and carried out by Charlotte Corday alone; but in the public mind it figured as clear and ominous evidence of the presence everywhere in France of spies in the pay of England, whose object was the overthrow of the Convention and the restoration of the monarchy. The malevolent influence at the centre of this wide-spread conspiracy was thought to be the queen; and the popular fury aroused by the death of Marat was turned toward her as the ultimate cause of counter-revolutionary intrigue in all its forms. The popular cry, therefore, was for the immediate execution of the queen. On the evening of July 14 the Committee of Public Safety was informed by the Commune "of the existence of groups in which so-called patriots had bound themselves, by their declarations, to revenge the death of Marat by assassinating the widow Capet and her son."[41] On July 16 some men came before the Convention demanding, what Marat had formerly demanded, "that you take steps against the prisoners in the Temple".[42] Throughout this period the popular

[41] Tuetey, *op. cit.*, vol. IX., p. 311, no. 1081.

[42] *Courier de l'Égalité*, July 17, 1793.

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hatred of the queen was voiced and inflamed by the scurrilous diatribes of Hébert in *Le Père Duchesne.*[43]

The high tension occasioned by the death of Marat increased with the approach of the proposed fête of August 10. This was to be a great day, not only because it was the anniversary of the fall of the monarchy, but more especially because on that day representatives from the departments were coming to Paris to lay before the National Convention the official returns of the vote recently cast in favor of the new republican constitution. On this day they would therefore celebrate, not only the fall of the monarchy, but also the formal proclamation of the Republic. It was ardently desired that the fête should be a great success; but there was much uneasiness lest the enemies of the Republic, royalists in disguise and spies in the pay of England, should make use of the popular excitement to raise disturbance, organize a massacre of prisoners, and under cover of the confusion rescue the queen and the dauphin. The newspapers reflect this feeling of apprehension. "Some feeble minds", says the *Révolutions de Paris,* "seem to fear this day, and consider whether they should not get away from it."[44] The *Journal de la Montagne* was filled with forebodings: "Let us repeat that August 10 approaches; that scoundrels wish to prevent it."[45] In the scarcity of bread the *Journal* saw a royalist intrigue, the work of those who wished to "precipitate popular movements, and to prevent the fête of the 10th of August. Scoundrels whom nothing teaches say under their breath that there will be a *coup* before the 10th; others, more adroit but not less dangerous, content themselves with spreading the rumor of this *coup,* with feigning to fear that it may come to pass, and this precisely in order to bring it about."[46] The *Moniteur* speaks of the "unfortunate inscriptions along the roads, designed to create terror and spread the most alarming rumors".[47] On August 6, Robespierre, at the Jacobins, spoke at length of the English

[43] Characteristic of Hébert's method of working on the passions of the populace is his account, real or imaginary, of a visit to the prisons. "Je trouvai la Garce aussi insolente que coutume." He says she told him: "J'ai des amis par-tout et dans la Convention; ils ont la patte bien graissée pour allonger la courroie et pour m'ouvrir, un beau matin, les portes de cette prison. Oh, je n'en doute pas, coquine, mais le peuple est là", etc. *Père Duchesne,* no. 287, p. 7. To the queen he attributes the most bloodthirsty purposes, and he makes her chiefly responsible for all counter-revolutionary activities. *Cf.* nos. 259, 268, 269, 293, 298, 299.

[44] XVII. 42.

[45] July 25, 1793.

[46] July 23, 1793.

[47] Aug. 7, 1793.

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plots, which he said had three objects, one of which was to start the people to pillaging the stores, another to "lead the people against the prisons and to renew the horrors of September".[48] The apprehension of a new massacre of prisoners was so general that even Madame Roland, herself a prisoner at Sainte-Pélagie, heard of it: "The tenth of August approached; they feared, for the prisons, a repetition of the 2 September."[49]

The republican leaders not only feared an uprising, a new massacre of prisoners, they wished to prevent it; not because of any special sympathy with the prisoners, but partly because such an uprising would be the opportunity of royalist intriguers, and partly because they wished the celebration of August 10 to demonstrate to the world that the Republic meant stability, restraint, fraternity, and good-will. They wished to demonstrate to the world, and perhaps to themselves, that the morale of the people of Paris was perfect even in this crisis of the Republic. Couthon, who can scarcely be suspected of any sympathy with the prisoners, certainly not with Marie Antoinette, assured his friends that "in spite of all the manoeuvres of the evil-minded, Paris is tranquil and the fête of the 10th will pass off joyously".[50] On the 13th he congratulates them that such was in fact the case: "The fête of the 10th of August passed off as I predicted, without any misfortune. The men of blood, who had unsheathed their poniards against this great day, were so effectively restrained that they were unable to execute any of their frightful projects."[51] With respect to this day, the *Courier de l'Égalité* expressed the general desire by saying that "the 10th of August should be the pledge of peace, concord, fraternity, and the epoch of general felicity."[52]

In these days of high excitement, when a massacre of prisoners was feared by the leaders of the Republic, and when the leaders wished for the good name of the Republic to prevent it, we may suppose that Danton was no less keen to prevent it than others. If Courtois's story is true we may suppose that he was even more keen

[48] *Journal des Débats . . . des Jacobins,* Aug. 9, 1793, no. 467.

[49] *Mémoires* (ed. Perroud), I. 311. The prevailing idea of the danger was expressed by Hébert: "Plus de dix-mille ehappés [échappés] de la Vendée sont au milieu de nous pour nous diviser, afin d'empêcher la réunion fraternelle qui aura lieu le 10 août; je sais que l'on médite encore un pillage, afin d'allumer la guerre civile dans Paris. Tous les contre-révolutionnaires doivent profiter de ce moment, pour forcer la garde du Temple et enlever le petit avorton royal." *Père Duchesne,* no. 259, p. 7.

[50] *Correspondance de Georges Couthon,* p. 258.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 261.

[52] Aug. 6, 1793.

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to prevent it than others. It is Courtois who tells us that his desire to rescue the queen was due precisely to the wish to prevent "useless, atrocious crimes". But apart from Courtois's story, we know that of all the chief leaders of the Revolution Danton was more solicitous than any other for the safety of the queen. From as early a date as May, 1793, he felt that the Jacobins were being carried away by a dangerous frenzy. His leading idea was that the factional struggles would end by destroying the Revolution; and he endeavored to bring about an abandonment of these struggles in order that all might unite solidly against the foreign coalition. "The enemy is at our gates also", he cried, "and we are destroying each other! Do all of our altercations kill a single Prussian?"[53] He would have saved the Girondins if he could. He was opposed to the senseless execution of men on suspicion only, without substantial proof. The blind fury of the *enragés,* who saw treason everywhere and who abandoned political methods for those of the crusader, left him cold. To drive the Coalition from France, to obtain from European governments a recognition of the Republic—these were the two cardinal points of his policy; and to attain these objects he would have brought diplomacy to the aid of arms. But for the diplomatist seeking concessions from the Coalition, the strongest card in the hands of the Republic was Marie Antoinette. Marie Antoinette alive was a hostage to buy recognition with; Marie Antoinette dead was but an added incentive to the Coalition to persist in the war until the Republic was destroyed. "In sending Marie Antoinette to the scaffold", Danton said, "they have destroyed the last hope of treating with foreign powers."[54]

Thus, in the early days of August, when there was wide-spread fear of a new massacre of prisoners, and when all the revolutionary leaders wished to prevent it, Danton had particular political as well as humanitarian reasons for wishing to protect the queen. But why, in order to protect her, should he say to her: "You will place on your door these words: Unity, indivisibility of the Republic, liberty, equality, fraternity, or death"? The reason becomes more apparent when we discover that these words, which constituted the symbol of the Republic, were words which all good patriots were requested to place over their doors. On June 29 the Directory of Paris passed a decree to the effect that, "during the month of July at latest, the proprietors or principal inhabitants shall be invited, in the name of patriotism, in the name of liberty, to have painted on

[53] Fribourg, *Discours de Danton,* p. 626.

[54] Madelin, *Danton,* p. 251.

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the façades of their houses, in large characters, these words: *Unity, Indivisibility of the Republic, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death.*"[55] At the end of July this request had apparently not been generally complied with; and early in August the newspapers carried a special request, coming from the Commune, to all inhabitants to see to it that the decree of the Department be carried into effect.[56]

Nevertheless, it may be said, this was a device for patriots, to stand as a symbol of patriotism. Could it be supposed that this device, placed on the door of the queen's prison cell, would demonstrate her patriotism, or serve to protect her against assassins? Undoubtedly not, if the queen were herself to write these words, and these words only, on her door. But I think it was not Danton's intention that she should write these words only on her door. It will be remembered that the letter closes thus: "Signé Danton". What is the significance of the word "Signé"? It is not customary for a person, signing his own letters, to place the word "signed" before his signature. It is a word used by copyists, where the signature as well as the letter is copied. I think the significance of this word in the present letter is this: Danton wished to convey to the queen that she was to "place" on her door the words indicated, and that she was also to place under them, in order to give them authority, these other two words, *Signé Danton.* It may be of some significance that Danton did not say "you will write on your door"; he said "you will place on your door", as if what she was to put on the door were some material object. In any case, that part of the letter beginning with the word "Unité" is distinctly separated from what precedes it by a long heavy dash, while at the bottom, below the signature, is another heavy dash. It is almost as if Danton had wished to say to the queen: This is what you are to place on your door, this which I have so clearly, by these heavy lines, set off by itself. Certainly the queen could have carried out the instructions given in the first part of the letter quite literally by cutting out the lower right-hand quarter of the sheet and "placing" that on her door. If she had done so, anyone approaching her door would have been confronted with the following, in Danton's well-known handwriting, and with Danton's signature attached:

Unité indivisibilité
de la Republique
liberté égalité fraternité
ou la mort
Signé Danton

[55] Lacroix, *Département de Paris*, p. 177.
[56] *Journal de Perlet*, Aug. 5, 1793, p. 37.

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Perhaps it was the intention of Danton that she should do just this. In that case the device on the door, with Danton's signature attached, would have had the force of an official order; and the meaning of the order could not have been mistaken by anyone.

This interpretation not only enables us to understand how these words on the door might have been thought to furnish protection to the queen; it also helps to clear up two other points that otherwise present some difficulty. I have already said that it is difficult to understand why Danton should have expected such a letter to pass through the Post Office without being intercepted. But if his intention was that his own name should be used to give a semi-official authority to the words, it is not unlikely that he sent the letter with the knowledge and consent of Robespierre or other members of the Committee of Safety; in which case the postal officials would naturally have been instructed to pass the letter. Why, in that case, the letter did not reach the queen, as it apparently did not, remains a question to which no answer is at hand. Some light would perhaps be thrown on these questions if one could determine the significance of the word which appears above and to the right of the address. It is apparently a signature, possibly *Duclos*. Whatever the word, it may, I should think, have been placed there to indicate either that the letter was to be passed without question or that it was to be intercepted. A more relevant question is why, if the placing of this device on the queen's door was an understood thing, regarded as in some measure a semi-official business, the Post Office should have been used at all. Why did Danton not go directly to the Conciergerie and place these words on the door himself, or send someone to do it? To this I find no answer.

The other question which this interpretation helps to clear up is the question already raised of why Fouquier, if he had this letter at the time of Danton's trial, did not bring it forward publicly as an effective piece of evidence. It will be recalled that N. J. Paris, some months later, at the trial of Fouquier, deposed that Topino-Lebrun told him that on the last day of Danton's trial Fouquier and Herman showed secretly to the jury a letter "from abroad addressed to Danton". Since no such letter has been produced, and since Paris testified, months after the event, not to what he knew but to what someone told him, it is at least a tenable hypothesis that the letter which was shown secretly to the jury was this letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette instead of a letter "from abroad addressed to Danton". Now, if the letter in question was such a letter as Paris describes there seems to be no very good reason for

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showing it to the jury secretly. But if the letter shown to the jury was the Danton letter, and if the Danton letter was, as I have suggested, prepared and sent with the knowledge and consent of Robespierre or other prominent leaders on the Committee of Safety, then there was a very good reason for showing it to the jury secretly. In that case, to present the letter in open trial would give Danton an opportunity to explain it, which he could very well do. If Robespierre and Fouquier, for example, knew that the letter had been sent to the queen with the sanction of the committees of government, they would know that the only effective use that could be made of it against Danton would be to use it secretly; shown secretly to the jury, without explanation, it could be made to seem conclusive proof that Danton had had secret dealings with the queen. All this is hypothesis; but it is an hypothesis in the light of which a good many facts are made somewhat more intelligible.

The question of the genuineness of the letter is one which I feel incompetent to decide. To the untrained eye the handwriting seems to be that of Danton; and Professor Burr, whose wide knowledge and critical competence have been a constant resource in the preparation of this paper, sees no reason to doubt the genuineness of the letter on that score. If the letter was forged, the assumption must be that it was forged for the purpose of ruining Danton. But on this assumption the substance of the letter is too odd, too unusual. A forger would have written a letter more specific in its implications, more obviously treasonable. If the letter is false, it is, in point of form, extremely clever; in point of content, too clever by half. Forged letters are usually commonplace enough; this one is so nearly unique that it is difficult to believe it could have been invented.

CARL BECKER.

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ARCHITECTURE IN THE HISTORY OF THE COLONIES AND OF THE REPUBLIC[1]

THE artistic aspects of American history have received but scant attention from professional historians, and consideration of them occupies little space in general histories of the United States. In this respect they only share the neglect formerly suffered by other aspects than the political and military: by constitutional and institutional history, by economic history and the history of religions, the study of which has given great enrichment and truer perspective to the picture of historical evolution. For certain periods of the past even the part of artistic developments in this evolution is now well recognized as vital and significant: for ancient Greece, for the thirteenth century, for the Italian Renaissance. Appreciation of its importance in other periods, with exact study of its character, has increased so rapidly also during recent years that in 1909 Max Dvořák could suggest in seriousness that the history of art had assumed a leading position, such as had been held by the history of religions ten years earlier, by cultural and political history in the first half of the nineteenth century, and by economic and social history in the second half.[2]

In America it has been felt that the arts were of specially small historical importance, both because of the magnitude of the material problem of harnessing the new continent and because of the supposedly imitative and secondary character of artistic manifestations here in relation to those of Europe. Such a generalization, although it contains some elements of truth, has been derived chiefly *a priori*, with the most superficial examination of the artistic developments themselves. It is only in the last score of years, indeed, that any great beginning has been made even to provide the tools for serious study of the arts in America. Already it is becoming evident, however, that, down at least to 1830, the arts, especially architecture, occupied a place of much importance in American life, and that the relationship of American architecture to that of England and of Europe was by no means always backward and imitative.

Under the division of historical sources customary since the time of Droysen—*Überreste* and *Tradition*—none of the *Überreste* from

[1] A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1920.

[2] *Bericht des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses*, 1909 (Munich), p. 64.

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the colonial period of an institutional nature is more conspicuous than the physical remains of colonial architecture. Even as an economic matter colonial housebuilding was of serious consequence. The first settlers of New Haven, founded 1636, were reproached for having "laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses".[3] The cost of the Miles Brewton house in Charleston, built 1765 to 1769, is given by Josiah Quincy, jr., as £8000 sterling.[4] Elias Hasket Derby, the great merchant of Salem after the Revolution, with his wife, Elizabeth Crowninshield, had a passion for building not surpassed in degree—extravagant as this may sound—by earlier merchant princes like the Medici themselves. Besides the fine house built for him by his father, he undertook in succession three other splendid town houses. Many instances of similar enthusiasm for building could readily be cited, both in the North and in the South.

It is the historical relationships between early American architecture and that of Europe, however, with which we shall here concern ourselves. The prevailing belief has been that our most worthy architecture was produced during the colonial period, and that conditions peculiar to America at that time gave it a character more nearly our own than that of any later phase of style. In the zone of pioneer settlement, frontier conditions are thought to have recalled primitive types into being, or caused borrowings from the Indians. In the buildings of more advanced communities, Puritanism is believed to have evoked a new type of religious edifice, and adaptation to wood as a building material is supposed to have brought appropriate changes in the proportions of classic architectural forms. Close study of the evidence forces the conclusion, on the contrary, that the special effect of these factors in colonial architecture has been much exaggerated. Whether in the first primitive shelters, or in the later buildings of the colonies, there was little on this side of the Atlantic which did not find its origin or its counterpart in provincial England or other parts of Europe of the same day. A truly American movement in architectural style appeared only after the Revolution, and then it assumed an historical importance which has been little suspected.

In the manifesto of frontier significance there is a famous passage, which reads in part: "The wilderness masters the colonist. . . . It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs

[3] William Hubbard, *History of New England* (before 1682). Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, second ser., VI. (1815) 334.

[4] D. E. H. Smith, *Dwelling Houses of Charleston* (1917), pp. 372–375.

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an Indian palisade around him."[5] Based primarily on an analysis of later Western conditions, this formula is applied also to the first colonial settlements. There it appears, however, that neither the first settlers nor the Indians of their day lived in log cabins at all. In some papers read at the Metropolitan Museum last spring, shortly to be published, we have collected the contemporary evidences regarding the first shelters of the colonists, and have shown the idea that they lived in log houses to have been an assumption of the middle of the last century. Contemporary descriptions also reveal that the Indian dwellings of the time, including the "long-house" of the Iroquois, bore no resemblance to the log cabin. In the case of the Creek, who did occasionally employ the log house in the later eighteenth century, we find that, like so many other things, it was borrowed from the colonists. Moreover, the log house itself was no invention of necessity in the wilderness. It was brought from Europe by the Swedes and Finns of the Delaware, in whose country it was then the ordinary form of rural dwelling, and was gradually adopted by later English settlers as superior, in view of the cheapness of timber, to their own lighter forms of construction—huts of branches and turf in conical form, of wattle and clay, or of slabs stood vertically in the ground.

The fundamental conception that the essence of American development lies in the return to primitive conditions along a frontier line might, of course, remain unaffected by these corrections of detail. So far as it has been held to apply to the original colonies, however, it involves a misconception of contemporary English conditions which deprives it of its supposed significance. For the colonial leaders, it is true, the primitive conditions were unaccustomed, but for the mass, the men who in England had been copyholders and agricultural laborers, they were not more than a continuation of conditions at home. The gloomy picture of English agricultural life in the seventeenth century drawn by Thorold Rogers[6] may be somewhat exaggerated, but in its main lines it is confirmed by the researches of Hasbach[7] and other scholars. As late as 1690, over five hundred thousand houses in England, more than five-twelfths the total number, had only a single hearth.[8] We

[5] F. J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 201.

[6] *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V. (1887), esp. 77–91.

[7] *A History of the English Agricultural Laborer*, Eng. tr. (1908), esp. pp. 77 ff.

[8] The returns of the Hearth Books, Mar. 25, 1690, are given by Rogers, V. 120–121.

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must take special note of the existence of large numbers of "borderers" or squatters on the commons, woods, and wastes, where they built themselves huts and perhaps cleared a little piece of land. Norden wrote, in his *Surveyors' Dialogues* in 1602: "in some parts where I have travelled, where great and spacious wastes, mountains, forests and heaths are, . . . many cottages are set up, the people . . . living very hardly with oaten bread and sour whey and goats' milk . . . as ignorant of God or of any civil course of life as the very savages."[9]

The natural focusing of attention on the more pretentious buildings abroad has prevented us from realizing the almost inconceivable primitiveness of the humbler dwellings there at the time. Recent English students have shown that few of the existing cottages were erected before the seventeenth century, representing a rise in the culture stage of the higher English yeomanry, and replacing huts of just such character as those which the colonists first built. Indeed, it is clear that primitive methods of construction persisted in remote districts of England long after they had vanished from the older colonial settlements. Edward Johnson is supported by much other evidence, when he writes in 1654, "The Lord hath been pleased to turn all the wigwams, huts, and hovels, the English dwelt in at their first coming, into orderly, fair and well built houses."[10] In England, on the other hand, in the huts of charcoal-burners and bark-peelers we see types, still persisting to the days of photography, which were used by the first comers at Jamestown and Charleston. It would seem that the theory of the frontier as distinctively American had been elaborated without sufficient regard for historical relationships; that the concept of the frontier must be carried back into England itself, and that it did not constitute a specific differentia of colonial life.

The key to early colonial development in architecture, indeed, would seem to be, not the handicaps, but rather the economic advantages of the common man in America. English students scarcely speak of emigration from economic motives as occurring before the later eighteenth century, or even before the nineteenth, attributing the earlier migrations to the colonies to religious or political motives. These were the motives of its leaders, to be sure, and of large numbers of freemen, but in the case of the great number of farm laborers, indented servants, and others whose passage money was paid for them, it was the prospect of better conditions of life which

[9] Cited by Hasbach, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[10] *Wonder-Working Providence* (reprint of 1867), p. 174.

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brought them to the New World. That conditions were better in fact has been well brought out by Bruce, in his *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*.[11] We are apt to set down all the claims made in early colonial tracts as the exaggerations of promotion, and this may be perhaps urged against the author of *Leah and Rachel* (1656), who speaks of "the dull stupidity of people necessitated in England, who rather then [than] they will remove themselves, live here a base, slavish, penurious life. . . . Their condition . . . far below the meanest servant in Virginia"; and of the buildings in Virginia, so contrived "that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome".[12] The most accurate and objective of observers in New England, however, William Wood, writes in 1634, "He that hath understanding and industry, with a stock of £100, shall live better than he shall do here [in England] of £20 per annum", and adds, "But many, I know, will say, If it be thus how comes it to pass then that they are so poor. To which I answer that they are poor but in comparison. Compare them with the rich merchants or great landed men in England, and then I know they will seem poor."[13] To all below the richer yeomen the free grant of virgin and wooded land in America meant a great improvement in their economic status, and even members of the lesser gentry who migrated soon found their means greatly increased.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find—in contrast with the impression generally held—that the more permanent houses, generally framed structures of wood, which superseded the first shelters were not inferior in construction to those of corresponding social grades in the Old World. Mr. S. O. Addy, a pioneer student of humbler English dwellings, writes, "In historic times the houses of the English peasantry were mostly built of wood, stone being only used where wood could not be obtained. . . . Houses were built of wood even in places where stone was most abundant, and this kind of building continued to the close of the sixteenth century."[14] Innocent fixes the seventeenth century as the time during which other materials tended to supplant wood.[15] The use of wood by the

[11] I. (1896) 575–589. *Cf.* also E. Channing, *History of the United States*, I. (1905), especially pp. 214, 227, note. Channing's account of conditions in Virginia is by no means rosy, yet he says, "the agricultural laborer was much better off in Virginia than he was in England."

[12] Force, *Tracts*, vol. III. (1844), no. 14, pp. 17–18.

[13] *New England's Prospect*, in Young, *Chronicles . . . of Massachusetts* (1846), p. 414.

[14] *The Evolution of the English House* (1898), pp. 106–107; Innocent, *English Building Construction* (1916), p. 119.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 123, 150. *Cf.* also Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.*, V. 529.

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colonists was thus not the adoption of an inferior material due to local conditions, but the perpetuation of English custom where the need for abandoning it was lacking. For the poorer man, indeed, it was even a step forward.

The walls in the frame, or "half-timber", houses of England were by no means always of burned brickwork beneath the plaster, as is commonly supposed in this country; wattle daubed with clay, laths with clay, clay alone, "cat and clay" rolled with straw, as well as sun-dried brick, were all in common use there in the seventeenth century. All these kinds of filling were also employed in the earliest American houses, but in the English colonies, at least after the very first years, were invariably covered with weather-boarding. This itself was not an American invention, but a feature early used in Kent and other English districts, even without any filling.[16] Its universal adoption in America was perhaps partly the result of greater severity of climate, but the inadequacy of uncovered half-timber houses was felt in England also, and later led to widespread use of tiles as a wall covering. The colonial covering of wood may thus represent primarily an improvement in the standard of construction, made possible by the greater cheapness of lumber.

The same certainty applies to the adoption of shingles for roofing. These, no new invention, were not so much a poor substitute for slate and tile as a better substitute for thatch, which continued to be the usual roofing for humbler dwellings in many districts of England until the later eighteenth century, and still remains in use there, whereas the last thatched roofs in the colonies vanished about 1670. Similarly, the wooden chimneys daubed with clay used in the early settlements were no mere makeshifts of the frontier. Instances may be multiplied where they remained in use in England in the nineteenth century,[17] long after their disappearance from the older settlements on this side of the ocean.

In the matter of style, at least, it will be supposed that the seventeenth-century houses of the colonies—which with their direct revelation of functional elements, their steep gables and leaded casements, represent in general a survival of medieval art—stood in arrears to England. It is true that Inigo Jones had introduced the academic style into England, with the Banqueting House at Whitehall, as early as 1619; but it is not so often observed how few and isolated were the works in this style there, down to the Great Fire.

[16] Innocent, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–118. He also writes us, coupling with his opinion that of Mr. J. Kenworthy: "We feel sure that such boarding was in use here long before the settlement of America."

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 269; Addy, *Evolution of the English House*, p. 115.

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The number of country houses in the new manner before the Restoration may almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. The infiltration of the academic forms in the architecture of the provincial towns and small manor-houses, to say nothing of ordinary cottages, was slow.[18] The persistence of the leaded casement may be taken as an illustration of this. Many English examples of mullioned casements are as late as 1730. The introduction of sash windows into the English provinces was very gradual.[19] Thus the earlier houses of the colonies represented quite an equal stage of development in style with those of the same class in provincial England.

The same was true of the churches, whether Anglican or dissenting. The only American church of the Anglican faith remaining from the seventeenth century, St. Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, is, to be sure, essentially Gothic in style, with projecting buttresses, and pointed mullioned arches; and the foundations of the church at Jamestown, built 1639–1647, show a plan wholly Gothic. This is no longer surprising, however, when we realize that the earliest academic church in England, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, by Inigo Jones, was built only in 1631, and that it remained unique until after the Great Fire of 1666, when Wren began his London churches. Among students of English architecture[20] it is a commonplace that Gothic remained the prevailing style for churches outside the capital throughout the century.

The Puritan meeting-house of the colonies, as one sees it in the "Old Ship" at Hingham, Massachusetts, built 1680–1682—a squarish, barn-like structure, with the pulpit on one of the longer sides and galleries around the other three—has been represented in the chief discussions of American churches as a purely native creation: "In New England the earliest [church] buildings resembled no English buildings at all, either of the earlier or later type, but a style was evolved which was peculiar to the period."[21] "The meeting-house . . . knew no architectural tradition . . . for any existing tradition was inseparable from the religious persecution from which the early settlers had fled."[22] Such statements ignore com-

[18] *Cf.* Gotch, *The English House from Charles I. to George IV.* (1918), pp. 99 ff.; Field and Bunney, *English Domestic Architecture of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1905), pp. 2, 9–10.

[19] Innocent, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[20] *E. g.*, R. Blomfield, *Renaissance Architecture in England* (1897), I. 136–148.

[21] A. Embury, *Early American Churches* (1914), p. 35.

[22] R. F. Bach, "Church Planning in the United States", *Architectural Record*, XL. (1916) 15.

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pletely the existence in Europe for a century of a specifically Protestant type of house of worship, with galleries focussing on the pulpit. It had its beginnings in Luther's chapel at Torgau, 1544, and was widely diffused in France after the Edict of Nantes, the most notable example there being the "Temple" at Charenton, built in 1623. In England the erection of such buildings was rarer down to 1689, first because of the capture of the official church by Protestantism and Puritanism, then, from the Restoration to the Toleration Act, because of prohibitions and persecutions. Examples still exist there, however, such as the Friar's Street Chapel at Ipswich,[23] with its Gothic casements, which reveal that the type was familiar there from an early time. Non-conformist houses of worship in America and in England were thus identical in scheme.

The change to the academic style in the eighteenth century did not affect the essential parity between the architecture of the colonies and that of provincial England. The means of its adoption, as any widespread matter, and of its subsequent transformations, were the same in both—the books, so characteristic of the period, which made its forms universally accessible to intelligent workmen and even laymen. Whereas prior to 1700 little had been available in English works except the forms of the "five orders", soon after that date there began to pour forth publications of contemporary designs both great and small. James Gibbs, in his folio *Book of Architecture* (1728), expressed the hope that it might be useful to gentlemen building in remote parts of the country, "where little assistance in design is to be secured"; and this was the special purpose of a multitude of smaller works, which supplied owners of less means with details of doorways, chimney-pieces, staircases, ceilings, and, after 1740, plans and elevations of whole houses in great variety. In the phase of style represented, these follow the changes which brought the lavish ornament of the rococo to England, and then replaced it by the ever-cooling chasteness of classicism. Such books were imported into America in great abundance, at dates very shortly after their publication.[24] Comparison shows that in a large number of specific instances details of colonial buildings were copied directly from their plates. Every new English fashion had thus its reflection in the colonies.

The success and rapidity with which these fashions were assimilated in the colonies was not substantially less than in provincial England, for buildings representing the same social grade. Many

[23] R. P. Jones, *Non-Conformist Church Architecture* (1914), p. 17 ff.

[24] *Cf.* Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (1916), pp. 20, 34–35, 90–101.

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colonial buildings have details of the classic orders applied in an isolated and ungrammatical way, but English buildings from the same period showing similar traits may readily be instanced. On the other hand American houses like Mount Airy, 1758—entirely of stone, closely akin in its design to a plate of Gibbs's book—stand on the same artistic level with their true congeners, the best houses of the smaller English gentry of the day. For the churches, analogous relationships prevail. Thus St. Philip's, Charleston, built in 1723, as shown in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1753, was spoken of by an English contemporary as "a grand church resembling one of the new churches of London",[25] and its three tall porticoes, of a type adopted there only about 1720, give this much justification.

Difference of material is generally supposed to have brought modification of the academic style in the colonies, the use of wood giving the orders more slender proportions and the detail a special delicacy. This idea, an outgrowth of nineteenth-century biologic theory, developed at a time when attention was focused chiefly on the colonial buildings of New England, and when the later history of English architecture was little known. It is true that the increasing cost of wood rendered frame-houses a rarity in England soon after the adoption of the academic style, whereas they continued in common use in America. Outside New England, however, the great majority of the finest colonial houses are of masonry, and in a number of these, such as Stratford, Carter's Grove, and the Nelson house at Yorktown, doorways and other details, in some cases even cornices, are of brick and stone. On the other hand many Georgian houses in England have doorways and cornices of wood. In neither country are the forms and proportions of wooden details modified in the direction of slenderness prior to the advent of the Adam style. This attenuated version of the classic, based on Pompeian decoration, which had its beginnings only about 1760, appeared in the popular handbooks after 1780, and in America thus after the Revolution. The change of proportions which then first took place was English in its origin and independent of material.

It is scarcely necessary to refute the suggestion of a reverse influence of colonial architecture on that of England, recently put forward by an English writer.[26] The similarity of the small houses of the later Georgian period in England with contemporary buildings in America, which he remarks, is sufficiently explained by the

[25] J. Gillies, *Memoirs of Whitefield* (1772), cited by Smith, *Dwelling Houses of Charleston*, p. 32.

[26] S. C. Ramsey, *Small Houses of the Late Georgian Period* (1919), p. 7.

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derivation of both from English handbooks. Such a theory arises merely because appreciation of these smaller English houses, which have been eclipsed by their great neighbors, has only come after the colonial work has long been familiar.

Despite minor local traditions, dialects, which existed in the colonies as in different English districts, the colonial style had thus always as its ideal, conformity to current English usage. It does not constitute America's characteristic achievement in architecture.

A true contribution to artistic development in the world at large is to be found rather in the classical style of the early republic. The Declaration of Independence was felt by its authors to apply in artistic matters also. Thus while minor craftsmen for a time continued traditions essentially colonial and English, the leaders sought to establish an architecture which should not be borrowed from contemporary European styles, but should be founded on the authority of the ancients, in whose republics the new states were felt to have their closest analogy. The initiative of amateurs and laymen such as Jefferson and Nicholas Biddle established the form of the classic temple as a single unconditional ideal for all classes of buildings. The Capitol at Richmond was modelled on the Maison Carrée, the Library of the University of Virginia on the Pantheon in Rome, the second Bank of the United States on the Parthenon at Athens. Jefferson even housed the professors at the university in little temples, and Biddle built himself a residence on the pattern of the "Theseum".

The classical revival was, to be sure, a movement which had its beginnings abroad, and which there also had the same ultimate ideal, the temple. By priority in embodiment of this ideal, however, and by greater literalness and universality in its realization, America reveals an independent initiative. The origin and antecedents of American classic buildings we have discussed in detail elsewhere.[27] It will suffice here to recall that the Virginia Capitol, designed in 1785, preceded the Madeleine in Paris, first of the great European temple-reproductions, by twenty-two years; and that the Bank of the United States, built 1819 to 1826, antedated the corresponding foreign versions of the Parthenon, the National Monument at Edinburgh, and the Walhalla at Regensburg, by ten years or more. The adoption of the temple form there for buildings devoted to practical use came later, in the Birmingham Town Hall (1831). Belief that

[27] *Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classic Revival in America* (1915), esp. p. 48; *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*, esp. p. 42; "The Bank of Pennsylvania", *Architectural Record*, XLIV. (1918), esp. 135–137.

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American example was influential in England is justified by a reference to the Bank of the United States in a London newspaper of 1837, which states that it "excels in elegance, and equals in utility, the edifice, not only of the Bank of England, but that of any banking house in the world".[28] American domestic buildings of the second quarter of the century, from "Arlington" and "Andalusia" to obscure houses of the Northwest, represent an extreme of classicism which has no parallel elsewhere.

Criticism of such buildings from a functional viewpoint is irrelevant to historical consideration, which is concerned only with determining and understanding the actual course of evolution. Whatever be thought of them, there can be no doubt that they endowed America with an architectural tradition unsurpassed in the qualities of monumentality and dignity.

It is only this unequalled heritage of classical monuments from the formative period of the nation which can explain America's leadership in the new classical revival of the present. When this began in the 'nineties, the characteristic striving elsewhere was toward differentiation, toward original forms expressive of the novel elements in modern life, rather than toward unity, and emphasis on the elements of continuity with the past. The influence of the Chicago Exposition, to which the revival is usually ascribed, is not enough to account for its native vitality, or for the distinguishing austerity of its work. These are due to familiarity with, and to the special character of, the early buildings of the republic—factors which have given the classical revival a nationalistic sanction.

Abroad, this modern architecture of America has made a deep impression and, at least in England, it has already had a marked effect. Many of the most gifted of the younger English architects have visited this country, and are actively engaged in promoting at home a similar return to the classic style of the early nineteenth century. The "balance of trade" with England is now favorable to America in artistic influence also.

Thus it is not the colonial style, but the classic architecture of the republic, in its two incarnations, old and new, which is a true contribution of America to universal development, a contribution well deserving to be recognized, even by the general historian.

FISKE KIMBALL.

[28] *Morning Chronicle*, July 11, 1837, reprinted in Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, IV. (1837) 544.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History

The extraordinary increase in the amount of graduate instruction in history given in the American universities, in the last thirty or forty years, and the great improvement in its quality and in the means for conducting it, have had one *ill* effect, in the striking diminution of the number of students who go to Europe in its pursuit. Forty years ago, the student who desired to carry his education in history beyond the meagre acquirements which he had obtained as an undergraduate, seldom had any other thought than to resort to a German university. Twenty years later, graduate instruction in the universities of the United States had developed to such a point that only an ambitious minority went to Europe for additional study—and these more often to Paris than to Germany. At the present time, only a very small percentage of the American graduate students of history have worked in a European university before beginning to teach.

The reasons for this state of things are two. One is that most students cannot afford a period of European residence and study; in too many cases they feel obliged to pursue their education with a minimum of expenditure, and even to seek the doctor's degree with a thesis which can be composed without leaving their immediate locality. The other reason is, the greatly improved opportunities open to the student in America. It is not too much to say that, for the first year of graduate work, the American student of history had better go to one of the best American universities than go to Europe. Such is the general testimony of those qualified to make the comparison with full knowledge. Besides courses appropriately supplementing undergraduate knowledge, the best American universities afford in that year rather more of systematic instruction in historical method, or of what may be called pro-seminar training, than the migrating student is likely to find concentrated, at what is for him the most advantageous stage, in his first year at a university in Europe. Making no comparison of the talents or acquirements of teachers, it can reasonably be maintained that the student will learn the tools and elements of his trade more quickly in familiar surroundings, and should not go to Europe without them, and also that a considerable advantage lies for him in the superior physical

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facilities which Yankee inventiveness and resourcefulness have known how to give to American libraries and seminar-rooms.

But if, assuming this preliminary training to have been secured, the effect of our improvement is to be that few of our students of history pursue it outside the borders of their own country, the result will be disastrous indeed. The young man who aspires to be a professor of European history and has never been east of Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, is as defective a creature as the one who wishes to be a professor of American history and has never resided west of those estimable cities. To say nothing of the eminent European teachers, there are elements in European thought and civilization which the young man will never learn rightly to understand except through contact; and without such understanding (since he cannot teach what he does not know) his teaching will lack one of its best traits of usefulness, the power to make young Americans into intelligent citizens of the world.

Probably it will still remain true that the student will gain the greatest educational benefit by going to the schools of Paris, or to some other place where the speech is not his own, and the civilization and the ways of thinking are radically different from those to which he has been accustomed. Yet for many a young man or young woman, either by reason of the subject on which he is embarked and the materials for its pursuit, or by reason of the rich learning and stimulating thought which British professors place at the service of their special pupils, the expedient course will be either to settle down for a period of study in the University of London, where historical study has advanced with such rapidity in recent years, with the vast resources of the British Museum and the Public Record Office near at hand, or to attach himself to Professor Tout's flourishing school of medieval studies at Manchester, or to place himself under the influence of the ripe scholarship of Oxford or Cambridge. At all events, it is an important duty of those already occupied in teaching, and especially in the teaching of graduate students, to foster close relations between the American and the British universities, and to welcome all occasions that bring together those responsible for the teaching of history in the universities of Great Britain and the United States. It is therefore a duty, and certainly it is a great pleasure, to lay before the readers of this journal some account of the first Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History, held under the auspices of the University of London in the second week of July last, July 11–16.

The immediate occasion for the conference was connected with

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the opening of the Institute of Historical Research established by the University of London. The building, in Malet Street, is near University College, and seven or eight hundred yards from the entrance to the British Museum. It is a temporary building, of somewhat the aspect of our Y. M. C. A. "huts", but of more substantial construction (urolite), and comprises a dozen rooms, of varying sizes, devoted to working libraries of sources and the conduct of seminars in English, Continental, London, diplomatic, naval, military, colonial, and American history, but with flexible and provisional arrangements. Besides being a workshop for historical research, it is intended that the establishment, for the inception of which the chief credit is understood to belong to Professor A. F. Pollard, Professor A. P. Newton, Miss E. Jeffries Davis, and an anonymous donor, shall be a clearing-house of historical information, open to students of all universities and all nations. Of its special possibilities of usefulness to the younger sort of American students, there can be no doubt in the minds of those who have been familiar with the defective conditions under which such students have hitherto done their work in London.

The formal opening of the Institute took place on July 8, when an admirable address was delivered by that notable historical scholar, the Minister of Education, Mr. Herbert A. L. Fisher, followed by Lord Bryce in a speech which left one doubtful whether to admire most his learning and kindly wisdom, or his physical vigor at an age of which the only evidence is to be found in books of reference. Most of the exercises of the ensuing week's conference were held in the rooms of the new building.

In general, the programme of those exercises was of a highly practical nature. No provision was made for rhetoric. After the formal opening meeting, all the sessions were genuine conferences, in which British and American members joined in the informal discussion of points of method or of questions as to the most profitable directions for research in the near future. In that opening meeting, the Minister of Education made another impressive address, emphasizing the need of sympathetic co-operation between American and British teachers in the work of historical education, and arguing in favor of the exchange of students, not of mediocre but of superior quality, after the undergraduate stage.[1] According to British custom, one of the American delegates responded; interesting remarks were made by Cardinal Gasquet, prefect of the Vati-

[1] A considerable part of Mr. Fisher's address is printed in *Education* for July 15.

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can library and archives, concerning those collections and the work which he has set on foot in them; and Professor W. R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, spoke in support of the vote of thanks to Mr. Fisher, proposed by Cardinal Gasquet.

The meetings which followed, on each of the four ensuing mornings, were devoted respectively to the following topics: the Objects of the Institute of Historical Research, Anglo-American Co-operation in Publication of Documents and Results of Research, How to Conduct a Seminar in History, and Methods of Editing Original Sources. The first, after a general exposition by Professor Pollard, resolved itself into sectional meetings for the consideration of unexplored fields, in medieval administration, in English ecclesiastical history, in colonial history, and in that of Eastern Europe. The second, similarly, after some general proceedings, divided into sections discussing what might be done in the fields of legal records, of medieval science and thought, of diplomatic documents, of colonial and Indian records, and of naval records. A permanent committee, composed of members from Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, was formed to give effect to the notions of Anglo-American co-operation which had emerged from the discussions of this latter occasion.

Successful as the conference was in professional respects, nothing produced a more gratifying impression on the American minds than its social aspect. No doubt, too, this counted for much with the Britons, for such gatherings of British men and women occupied with historical studies have not been frequent, and it was remarked that never before had so many of them been brought together, unless at the time of the International Congress of Historical Studies held at London in 1913. In large degree the conference was composed of delegates formally appointed by the various British universities and university colleges, and by Canadian and American universities and colleges, and each of the universities of the United Kingdom had sent representatives whose fame is abundant on the other side of the Atlantic, and whom it was a pleasure to Americans to meet. In all, nearly two hundred members of the conference were present. The thirty or forty Americans and Canadians had probably in no case come across the water especially to attend the conference; they were already in Europe, or had lately come to Europe, for purposes of research or travel, but they formed a good representation, mostly of the middle and younger elements in our profession, and endeavored to contribute their part to the discussions.

Nothing impressed them more, it may safely be said, than the

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abounding hospitality with which they were entertained. On occasions open to British and American delegates alike, but from the nature of the case planned especially for the pleasure of the Americans, the custodians of famous collections not only threw them open to the inspection of the visitors, but were at much pains to show and explain unusual possessions. Thus, there was a visit to the Public Record Office by invitation of the Master of the Rolls, another to the manuscripts department of the British Museum by invitation of the director, Sir Frederic Kenyon, and a third to the Guildhall, where members were received by the library committee and shown the records of the corporation of London. On another afternoon the Royal Historical Society invited the members to a very agreeable *conversazione* in its building and in the gardens of Russell Square opposite. Another afternoon was made memorable by a visit to the library of Lambeth Palace, where the librarian, Rev. Claude Jenkins, gave an interesting description of the collections, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Davidson entertained the visitors at tea. Finally, there was a post-conference excursion to Windsor Castle, where the King's Librarian, Hon. John W. Fortescue, with unwearied kindness, conducted members all about the castle and gave full and interesting explanations of rooms and treasures artistic and historical.

There was also abundance of private hospitality, in the form of week-end entertainment, teas, and dinners, among which the dinner and the brilliant reception given by Lady Astor, and specially honored by the presence of the Duke of Connaught, calls for particularly grateful commemoration.

On the final evening of the conference the British government gave to the members a very handsome dinner at the Savoy Hotel, at which the Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Robert Munro, presided, and at which excellent speeches, striking precisely the right note, were made by him, by Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, and by Professor John L. Morison of Queen's University, Canada. The recent action of President Harding in calling the Disarmament Conference, announced in just those days, gave point to all that was said of fraternal relations between the three nations, and of that peace on earth which historical knowledge, properly pursued and diffused, can do so much to promote.

It is ardently to be hoped that before long a second Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History may in some form be brought about on our side of the ocean. Such will certainly be the wish of all those who attended the conference of last July,

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though it must be confessed that British hospitality set on that occasion a standard which it will be difficult for us to maintain.

J. F. J.

The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia

The benevolent activities initiated by the Rev. Thomas Bray, founder of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are familiar to students of eighteenth-century America. In the absence of records of the inception of the Georgia enterprise,[1] however, it has escaped notice that another philanthropic society, created by Bray *circa* 1724, and still in existence—the Associates of the Late Rev. Dr. Bray—became, shortly after his death (February 15, 1730), the parent organization of the Georgia Trust.

It is true that the original Associates, though they included the colonies within the scope of their benefactions, in no sense constituted a colonizing society. Their objects at the outset were two: the founding of parochial libraries in England and in the plantations, and the Christian education of negroes.[2] Both were philanthropies which had long interested Bray. For parochial libraries he had generously spent his own income as well as gifts; for negro education he controlled a legacy of about £900 from M. Abel Tassin, sieur d'Allone. But in 1723 ill-health had made Bray anxious for the perpetuation of these benevolences. He had therefore joined with himself four trustees, John Lord Viscount Percival, William Belitha, the Rev. Stephen Hales, and his brother Robert Hales, of whom the first three later became charter trustees of Georgia.[3]

[1] This lack has now been supplied, in part, by the publication of the *Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards First Earl of Egmont,* vol. I., 1730–1733. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1920.) The attention of students had previously been called to this valuable source for the early history of Georgia by Benjamin Rand, in the *Nation,* C. 107.

[2] On his work with respect to libraries, see Dr. B. C. Steiner's article in this journal, II. 59–75, and on his work in general, the same writer's monograph on Dr. Bray, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication* no. 37.

[3] The primary source for the life of Bray is a biography entitled "A Short Historical Account of Dr. Bray's Life and Designs" (Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian), printed by B. C. Steiner as Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication* no. 37 (1901), pp. 11–50. The manuscript, partly in the hand of Richard Rawlinson, partly in that of his amanuensis, was apparently press copy for the tract, *Publick Spirit illustrated in the Life and Designs of Thomas Bray,* London, 1746, of which a second edition appeared in 1808. The editor of the second edition, H. J. Todd, was probably correct in his ascription of the authorship to the Rev. Samuel Smith, who in 1730 became an Associate and one of the secretaries

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Lord Percival was an Irish peer, a moderate supporter of Walpole, and a devoted friend of George Berkeley.[4] Friendship for Berkeley led him to accept the trusteeship: he expected to establish a fellowship for the instruction of negroes in Berkeley's projected Bermuda College.[5] The benevolent aspirations which underlay Berkeley's plan, Percival, with his strong religious bent, naturally shared. Though of practical temper he also shared some of the utopian zeal which was likewise an element in the Dean of Dromore's undertaking.[6] Berkeley's dream was soon dissipated, but its passing glamour had fixed the interest of Lord Percival in America. To Berkeley in Rhode Island he wrote: "almost you persuade me to be a Rhodian."[7] While he was still defending Berkeley's good faith against detractors, he was approached by James Oglethorpe in behalf of a design which appealed to the same mingled charitable and romantic sentiments, but which, "being entirely calculated for a secular interest",[8] held greater promise of governmental support.

A common interest in imprisoned debtors—possibly inspired in

of the group. From the journals of the Associates (apparently not now extant for the period before 1735) Todd cited this passage under date June 17, 1731: "An historical Account was laid by Mr. Smith before the Associates, of Dr. Bray's Life and Designs; and with some alterations the whole was approved." There is other evidence, internal and external, that 1731 was the date of original composition of the Life; and it is obvious that it was intended to be the official version of Bray's career as viewed by the Associates. Dr. Steiner's assumption that Richard Rawlinson was the author, and that he placed his manuscript in the hands of Smith, is not well substantiated. Smith was in a position to write intimately of Bray's life, but there is no evidence that the nonjuring Bishop Rawlinson had any personal contact with the latitudinarian Bray, or with the group which carried on his charities. Rawlinson produced few original works, but he was a frequent editor as well as a great collector (see article in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVII. 331); he may have edited the Life for publication in 1746. While it was still in manuscript, borrowings from it appeared in early tracts issued by the society (*viz.*, statement of the Associates' designs appended to the sermon of the Rev. Samuel Smith, preached before the Associates Feb. 23, 1731, as published in 1733; below, note 20). "A Short Historical Account" as printed gives the date of Bray's illness as "Christmas 1725". This is probably a misprint for "Christmas 1723", the date which appears in *Publick Spirit illustrated*, and in all subsequent accounts; 1724 is the probable date of the establishment of the original group of Associates.

[4] For their correspondence, see Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley and Percival* (1914).

[5] Percival, *Diary*, I. 45. Lord Palmerston, in whose hands the d'Allone legacy had been placed, was likewise a patron of Berkeley, and used his influence to merge the two projects. Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 229.

[6] Rand, *Ibid.*, pp. 203–206, 223–225, 230–231, 245.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[8] Percival to Berkeley, Dec. 23, 1730. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

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both by Dr. Bray, a veteran prison reformer[9]—had brought Percival and Oglethorpe together in Parliament, despite political differences. It was a large committee which sat in 1729 to "enquire into the state of the gaols".[10] Oglethorpe was chairman ("a young gentleman of very public spirit", Percival described him to Berkeley);[11] among the members—a nucleus of earnest reformers—were Lord Percival, Robert Hucks, Rogers Holland, and John Laroche, all later joined as trustees of Georgia. The committee exposed flagrant abuses at the Fleet and Marshalsea prisons; it secured ameliorative legislation, and notably an act which released large numbers of debtors from confinement. But Oglethorpe was not satisfied, and pressed, successfully, for the revival of the committee. As restored and altered in 1730 it included, with one omission, the whole parliamentary group named in the charter as trustees.[12] While the reforming element in the committee was being strengthened by this reorganization, Oglethorpe and Percival were effecting a parallel reconstruction of the little charitable trust which Bray had established several years before.

For the punishment of brutal wardens and the releasing of unfortunates were only part of Oglethorpe's humanitarian programme. "The miserable wretches . . . let out of Gaol by last year's Act" he found "starving about the town for want of employment"; hundreds, he told Percival, had emigrated to Prussia to seek economic opportunities which England did not offer them.[13] In 1729 he had

[9] Bray's report to the S. P. C. K. on the prisons preceded Oglethorpe's investigation by more than a quarter-century. James S. Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church*, IV. 74–76. In 1727 Dr. Bray was again active in the relief of prisoners; this time he raised funds to supply the prisoners of Whitechapel and Borough Compter with provisions, and besides sent among them his apprentice missionaries. "On this occasion", declared his biographer, "the sore was first opened and that scene of inhumanity imperfectly discovered, which afterwards some worthy patriots of the House of Commons took so much pains to enquire into and redress. That zeal and compassion, which led them to carry on this inspection and regulate many gross abuses, could not but procure for them the largest measure of esteem of one distinguished by such an extensive benevolence as Dr. Bray." "A Short Historical Account" (ed. Steiner), Maryland Hist. Soc., *Fund Publ.*, no. 37, p. 46.

[10] *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 25, 1729.

[11] Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 270.

[12] Percival, *Diary*, I. 46, 49, 50; *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 17, 1730. Of special interest for its bearing upon the strategic origins of Georgia is the fact that both committees included several members of the Board of Trade; the veteran Martin Bladen sat on each. Early in 1730 the Board was planning the extension of settlement in South Carolina as far as the Altamaha. The location of the debtor colony was probably suggested by the colonial administration; it was a logical step in a long-maturing imperial policy.

[13] Percival, *Diary*, I. 45, 90.

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formulated a plan to plant a hundred or so beneficiaries of the recent act on land purchased or granted somewhere in the "West Indies".[14] In 1729, moreover, he had found a fund suited to his purpose, the legacy of one King, a haberdasher. For services to two of the executors, in preventing a fraud by the third, Oglethorpe had been promised £5000 from King's legacy of £15,000, for his charitable colony, provided it should be annexed to some trust already in existence.

It was at this juncture that Oglethorpe appealed to Lord Percival. King's executors had agreed that the Associates were "proper persons to be made trustees of this new affair". Apparently Dr. Bray had already consented to an enlargement of the group, if indeed he had not first proposed it independently.[15] But Dr. Bray was on his death-bed, and Lord Percival was planning to withdraw from his trusteeship, when Oglethorpe approached him in the House of Commons, February 13, 1730, proposing to augment the number of the original Associates and thus to merge three charities in the one society.[16] His object was to associate the reforming group in Parliament with philanthropists outside, in a constructive effort on behalf of the poor.

Percival's assent secured the desired organization for the project of a charitable colony. Until 1742, moreover, Percival, after Oglethorpe, was the most assiduous promoter of the plan. In April, 1730, he took legal counsel on the method of augmenting the trusteeship;[17] by July, apparently, the reorganization was completed.[18]

[14] *Diary*, I. 45. In Percival's usage "West Indies" was sometimes employed in a general sense, to mean America. Even after Carolina had been chosen as the site, he referred to the new colony "in the West Indies". *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[15] The author of "A Short Historical Account" credited Bray with the idea of enlarging the original trust; and declared that an interview occurred between Oglethorpe and Bray, occasioned by the parliamentary inquiry, in the course of which Bray proposed that Oglethorpe become one of the trustees; and that Oglethorpe consented "and engaged several others, some of the first distinction, to act with him and the former Associates in it". *Loc. cit.*, pp. 46–47. This is not to assert, however, that Bray first suggested the new charity. For a later tradition of Bray's active agency in the reorganization, see an extract from Edward Bentham's memoir of the Rev. John Burton, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLI. 307 (1771).

[16] Percival, *Diary*, I. 44–45.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[18] July 1 Percival "went to town to a meeting of the new Society for fulfilling Mr. Dalone's will in the conversion of negroes, and disposing of five thousand pounds . . . in settling some hundred of families in Carolina . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 98. An advertisement of "The Associates of the late Dr. Bray" in 1737 referred to their activities "since July, 1730". John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, II. 119.

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During the first year Oglethorpe acted as chairman. In Percival's journal there is no uniformity in the naming of the conglomerate society;[19] the varying terminology may have indicated, to some extent, the character of the business under consideration. But it is evident that all three charities were regulated at a single meeting. Moreover, when Bray's anniversary sermons were preached before "the associates of Dr. Bray, deceased," at their annual meetings in 1731 and 1732, the discourses dealt with "charitable planting" as well as with Bray's older philanthropies.[20] At meetings of the Associates, between 1730 and 1732, the colonizing enterprise gradually took form; it was at a meeting of the Associates, notably, on July 30, 1730, that the petition to the crown for a grant of lands in Carolina was agreed upon and partly signed.[21]

Analysis of the personnel of the society strikingly confirms the other evidence that the enlarged Associates of the late Rev. Dr. Bray formed the nidus of the Georgia board.[22] The Associates included some eight individuals who never served as trustees of Georgia; but no one of the board as first named was chosen from outside that composite charitable society. At the head of its membership were three of the original group of Associates. There were fourteen members of Parliament, all of whom but Digby (and possibly Lowther) had served on at least the revived committee on the jails, though three of the least active were later omitted from the trust. There were seven clergymen (five of them trustees), and a fourth group of philanthropists, most of whom, with the

[19] See, for instance, *Diary*, I. 99, 273, 276.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 224–226; *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1731 (I. 80). Both sermons, by the Rev. Samuel Smith and by the Rev. John Burton, were published, in 1733, "at the desire of the trustees and associates". The title-pages, written after the separation of the trusts, obscure their earlier identity; but the phrasing of the sermons makes this very plain.

[21] Percival, *Diary*, I. 99.

[22] The list of the Associates, as published in *Biographia Britannica* (1748), II. 976 n., follows. With only a few omissions the list may be confirmed from references in Percival's journal. "John Lord Viscount Percival, now Earl of Egmont. The reverend Dr. Stephen Hales. William Belitha, Esq. The honourable Edward Digby, Esq. The Right Honourable George Lord Carpenter. Major-General Oglethorpe. Edward Harley, Esq. The Honourable James Vernon, Esq. Edward Hughes, Esq. Robert Hucks, Esq. Thomas Tower, Esq. John Laroche, Esq. Rogers Holland, Esq. Major Charles Selwyn. Robert More, Esq. William Sloper, Esq. Oliver St. John, Esq. Henry Hasting, Esq. George Heathcote, Esq. Francis Eyles, Esq. Mr. Adam Anderson. Sir James Lowther. Captain Thomas Coram. The Reverend Mr. Digby Cotes. The Reverend Mr. Arthur Bedford. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Smith. The Reverend Mr. Richard Bundy. The Reverend Mr. John Burton. The Reverend Mr. Daniel Somerscald", etc.

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clergymen, represented the movement outside of Parliament. Captain Thomas Coram was one of these; already he was agitating for the great foundling hospital which became his monument.[23] The Hon. Edward Digby was probably drawn in as the nephew of that pious Lord Digby who had been a lifelong friend and patron of Dr. Bray.[24]

Even after the Georgia charter had passed the seals, for a time the business of the Associates and of the trustees was jointly transacted.[25] As late as May, 1733, the Associates, meeting separately at the Georgia Society office, were pressing for an accounting of funds, on the ground that "these trusts are to be separated from the care and management of the Georgia Trustees in general".[26] Apparently the formal separation occurred in that year.

In 1737 the Associates announced that since July, 1730, they had "erected in Great Britain and the Plantations, twenty-three libraries, larger and smaller".[27] One hundred and eighty-three years later the society was still maintaining over one hundred and fifty libraries in England and Wales, nearly one hundred and seventy over-seas, mostly scattered among the dioceses of the Empire, besides supporting negro schools in the Bahamas.[28] Despite this record of a trust

[23] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XII. 194. Coram was regarded also as an expert on America, where he had lived and traded. Percival said "he knew the West Indies well" (*Diary*, I. 261); while the elder Horace Walpole declared him "the honestest, the most disinterested, and the most knowing person about the plantations, I have ever talked with". Coxe, *Walpole* (1798), III. 243.

[24] John H. Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660–1714*, p. 123. Edward Harley, brother of the Earl of Oxford, was a well-known philanthropist; in 1725 he had been named chairman of the trustees for the charity-schools of London. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXIV. 394. Adam Anderson had charitable interests, but he was probably selected because, as second accountant at the South Sea House, he was acquiring that reputation as a trade expert which his authorship of the *Origin of Commerce* (1764) has perpetuated. Among the clergymen the best known, besides the plant physiologist Hales, was John Burton, of Oxford. He and Oglethorpe had been of the same generation at Corpus Christi College, of which Burton was now a fellow. *Id.*, VIII. 8.

[25] July 20, 1732, "we presented them [Pury and his colonists] with a small library out of Dr. Bray's books, of which we are trustees." Record of meeting of Georgia board, in Percival, *Diary*, I. 286.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[27] Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II. 119. The minute-books from 1735 to 1808 are preserved in the building of the S. P. G. in London. Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to Manuscript Materials for the History of the U. S., to 1783, in the British Museum*, etc., p. 334.

[28] *Report for the Year 1920 of the Association Established by the Late Rev. Dr. Bray and his Associates for Libraries for the Clergy, with an Account of a Trust for Supporting Negro Schools and Brief Notes on the Life of Dr. Bray.* 1921. See also article in the *New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia* (1908), II. 255.

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so long executed in the spirit of the founder, the Associates of the Late Rev. Dr. Bray no doubt performed their most notable service between 1730 and 1732, when they laid the foundations of the last successful English enterprise of colonization within the limits of the United States.

Institutionally, as well as in its spirit of charity, Georgia was a product of the religious-philanthropic movement in the era of Walpole.

VERNER W. CRANE.

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DOCUMENTS

Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II.

Sunday June the 9th [*1765*] from port Royal to hoes fery on Patowmak, 18 miles.[1] this is one of the finest rivers on the Continent: admiral Bradock went up it as far as alexandria with his whole fleet after his Defeat at fort william henery, in Canada. this river seperates the two provinces of Virginia and Maryland. it is about 3 miles broad here. I Crossed this fery and Dined at the maryland fery.[2] Set out from thence[3] for Mr. hunters, missionary, where I remain'd all next Day and night. Mr. hunter is a Jesuit and superior of the Mission in this part of the Country.[4] There are four Clergy men belongs and four houses like this in the province the fathers go about the Different parts to atend the Dispersed Catholiques. Charles County has more of the Cathol. religion than any other but are poor in general. Lord Baltimore when he had the grant of maryland was himself one, but his unworthy Desendants have abondoned his principles therefore the poor Catholiques have lost most of their privileges. they were very much treatend in the begining of the last war. father hunter tells me there are about 10,000 Catholiques still in the Colony. he has generally from 800 to a th'd at his Sundays mass.

June the 11th. from mr. hunters to portobacco town, 2 m. about 20 houses. from hence to Piscatoway[5] 16 m. much such another place as the last. Dined here. there are small Creeks from patowmak river to Each of these place on which small sloops Com to them. Some merchants have stores or shops here ful of all Sorts of Dry goods which they sell at an intolarable Dear rate. on my arival in maryland, I thought there was somthing pleasanter in the Country than in Virginia, it is not a Continual flat as the latter, there is a greater variety, and fine prospects from the riseings, which the other has not in the parts that I Came thorough. the land seems beter Cultivated and setled. the roads are not so sandy.

[1] Matthias Point. It is hardly necessary to point out the errors in the next sentence, respecting "Admiral" Braddock.

[2] Near the present Port Tobacco, Md.

[3] *I.e.*, from the Maryland end of the ferry over the Potomac, some eight miles below Port Tobacco, in Charles County.

[4] Father George Hunter, S. J. (1713–1779), "missionarius in Porto Baccha", had come out to Maryland in 1747, and since 1756 had been superior of the Jesuits in Maryland. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Text, II. 692–693. In view of the data he gives the diarist, it is of interest to read the general report he was at this time preparing, on Catholicism in Maryland, and which he sent to his provincial under date of July 23. *Ibid.*, Documents, I. 335–338. Father Hunter's residence is described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 179.

[5] On Piscataway Creek, the mouth of which is nearly opposite Mount Vernon.

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from Piscatoway to mr. Diggses, 12 m.[6] this is a Gentleman of the Roman Catholique Religion, and much respected In the Country by Every one that Knows him. he has a Considerable fortune. Mr. Thomas Diggs his Brother is a Jesuit.[7] he lives with him and at the same time Does religious Duty all round in this part of the Country, he Certainly is an honor to his religion. he is a very respectable persson in Every respect, amiable in the Eyes of all that are acquainted with him. makes those that are in his Company happy. he is a learned man and has seen much of the world.

June the 12th. from Mr. Diggses to Marlborough the Capital of Prince Georges County.[8] here I Dined and after Dinner went to see tobaco Inspected at the ware house and saw some of the bright couloured tobaco which sels So Dear in foreign markets. it is of a light yelow Coulour. and is as much Esteemed as the virginia Sweet Sented: it grows but in particular Soils. the Inhabitants call it bright tobacco. this litle town is the senter of pleasures in maryland, they have assemblys here all the year rownd: it is situated on patuxent river. Non but small barques Can Come to it which is suficient to Cary of its Produce. [*In margin*: four miles from Marlboroug I Crossed patux't river fery, at a place called mount pleasant.][9] the Inhabitants of maryland go very much on farming. Prince Georges County is Inhabited by the best people in Maryland. marlborough is 15 miles from Piscatoway. from hence to hords ord'y 10 miles. here I lay.

June the 13th. from hords ord'y to london town, 15 m.[10] this is a very Small place not above a Doz'n houses. it is on what the Inhabitants Call South river but really North river Communicating to the great bay. fine Country as I Came along. after Dinner Crossed the south river fery [*In margin*: this fery is a mile broad] and to annopolis 4 miles. this is the capital of maryland, a prety litle town, Beautifully situated on a risein grownd beside the river severn, Comunicateing to the Bay. ships of any Burthen Can Come up this river, and Could formerly Come Close to the town into a little mold or Bassen, which is in the Center of the town, but this Bassen is almost filled with Dirt for want of a little Care. however the harbour is so good otherwise that the ships Dont feel any great inconvenience from that loss. I was not above an hour at the tavern when Joseph Galoway Esq'r[11] Came to enquier for me. my good friend mr. Christy[12] wrote to him from williamsburg Concerning me. We suped together at the tavern and next Day I went to Dine with him. after Dinner we went to the Court which was then seting: here my friend Introduced me to most of the

[6] Ignatius Digges, of Melwood.

[7] Father Thomas Digges, S. J. (1711–1805), a native of Maryland, missionary there since 1742, superior before Father Hunter.

[8] Upper Marlborough, on the western branch of the Patuxent.

[9] Near the present Bayard, Md.

[10] On the south side of South River.

[11] The celebrated Pennsylvania magnate and lawyer (1729–1803), born in Maryland, speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly 1766–1774, member of the first Continental Congress, Loyalist. Life by E. H. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1902).

[12] James Christie, of Annapolis; see the first installment of this journal, note 78.

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gentlemen, and particularly to the atorny general and Chief Justice.[13] we spent the remainder of the Court time (which was till the 18) very Chearfully. there was a large and agreable Company at my tavern. where we had nothing but feasting and Drinking, after the Kings health, the virginia assembly, and then Damnation to the Stamp act and a great Deal to that purpose in fine we scarce used to Go to bed sober.

June the 19th. went with J. Galloway to his Brothers at tulip hill on west river, a very fine situation.[14] Nothing Can be Equal to the Civilities I received from these Gentlemen. this place is 12 miles from the town. there is great plenty of wheat and Indian Corn raised in this part of the Country.

June the 20th. we went to a fishing party out in the Bay, where we Catched a prodigious quantity of roks which is a fine fish.

Do. the 21st. Came back to town.

the 22d. Crossed the severn (which is about 2 miles broad) and weated on the governor in Company with both Galloways. he lives about 6 m. from town where he has bought a farm and is building a prety box of a house on the Bay side, which he Calls white hall.[15] he is but lieutenant governor, the proprietor[16] being governor. he formally had been in the army. he is a batchelor about 45 y's old, a very agreable sencible gentleman. wee Came to town after Dinner on Conditions that I should return shortly and spend some time with his honour, which I promised with pleasure, for I liked his Company much.

June the 23d. Set in Comp'y with J. Galloway, Esqr. for Baltimore town. Broke fast at the widow rights, 15 m. at noon arived at patapsco fery,[17] where we met with some ladys and gentlemen that were going to a feast aboard a ship that was lying at anchor in the river, with several others. we profited of the opertunity and went with them. it is Custumary for all ships that Come to the Country to take tobaco on freight home, to give a Dinner to which they generally invite the planters and familys, Especially those who freight tobaco on board, who take Care to tell of it in their Cups. I've shiped so much says one I've shiped so much says another, and then a Dispute would rise who shiped moste, which would have turned serious at last if somebody very lukily had not spoke of the stamp Dutys, which altered the Conversation imediately. then was they Daming their souls if they would pay and Damn them but they would fight to the last Drop of their blood before they would Consent to any such slavery. In short the aproche of night finished the feast and wee went with part of the Comp. to

[13] The attorney-general was Edmund Key (d. 1766). *Maryland Magazine of History*, V. 196; *Maryland Archives*, XIV. 128. The chief justice of the provincial court was John Brice (1714–1766), of Annapolis. *Md. Archives*, XIV. 216; Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History*, pp. 357–359.

[14] Near Galloways, Md.; the home of Samuel Galloway. It is described and pictured in J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware*, pp. 138–143.

[15] It is described and pictured in Lady Edgar's *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*, pp. 188–194, 245, and in Hammond, pp. 77–87. The governor mentioned was of course Lieut-Col. Horatio Sharpe (1718–1790), governor 1753–1769.

[16] Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore.

[17] See J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I. 371.

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baltimore, which is Considerable for the short time since its first Establishment, which is owing to its proximity with the many Iron mines, and works in its Invirons, the situ'on is far from being agreable, it is at the foot of a hil fronting to the Southward, a Sandy Soil which makes it very hot in the Sumertime. it is not near as healthy as anapolis. the ships Cant Come within a mile of the town. here I met my good friend Mr. Christy who accompanied us the 24th to Charles Carol Esq'r,[18] about three miles from town, where he has Considerable Iron works. wee went to see them but unfortunately the furnais was not in blast. the mines that belong to these works are Considerable and abundant in Iron. they belong to five Gentlemen and are at present worth 500 ps. per annum to Each of [them] altho in its infancy.[19] there are great numbers of mines about this part of the Country some of which are Coper and very rich in apearance but no[t] wrought.

Mr. Carol treated us with all the Civility Imaginable. wee staid here all the 24th.

June the 25th. returned to anopolis, Mr. Christy with us.

Do. 26th. went to Marlbro Court where there was a Surprising Number of People. Dined at the tavern in a large Company, the Conversation Continually on the Stamp Dutys. I was realy surprised to here the people talk so freely. this is Common in all the Country, and much more so to the Northward. the Catholiques seem to be very Cautious on this occasion. we went to ly at Mr. Diggses where I had again the pleasure of Conversing with the Rever'd father thomas, to my great satisfaction.

Do. 27th. Came to tulip hil In Company with both Galloways, Mr. Stuard, one of the majistrates of anapolis,[20] and Mr. Junifer major in the militia.[21] after Dinner as the botle was going round the Conversat'n fell on the Stamps, and as the wine operated the rage against the proceedings of the parlement augment, only the magestrate seemed to retain himself, and took the part of the ministry, on acc't of his Countryman lord Bute.[22] in the hight of the Conv'on there was something said about takeing up arms, that if the americans took it in head they were able to Cope with Britain in america. upon which the magestrate said that non but Disafected people, or Enemys to the present government, could talk in such a manner, but notwithstanding his loyalty, he out with it at last, and said that if it Came to the push he would take up arms himself In Defence of his liberty and property, upon which he had a huza from the Company.

[18] Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Elk Ridge (1702–1781), father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The Patapsco Iron Works were at the mouth of Gwynn's Falls, now in the southwest part of Baltimore.

[19] Four of the five were this Charles Carroll, Charles Carroll, barrister, Daniel Dulany, and Robert Carter, of Nomini, Va. A letter of the first-named to his celebrated son, written in 1764, mentions that he owns a fifth of these iron-works. Rowland, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, I. 60.

[20] Dr. George Stewart, member of the provincial council. See Hanson, *Old Kent of Maryland*, pp. 262–264.

[21] Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, afterward member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Constitution.

[22] Dr. George Stewart was born in Scotland.

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It is Certain that this act has made a great alteration in the americans Disposition towards greatbritain,[23] and will have a very Good Efect with regard to themselves. it has already set them on raising everything within themselves, which they would never have thought of otherwise, for they hithertoo were the greatest spendtrifts in the world, satisfied if at the years End the[y] Could make both Ends meet. they send their produce home, which is sold by the merchants at their own price, and aded to this Considerable Charges, there was but litle Comeing to the poor planter, and Even that litle was sent out to him in some necessary furniture which cost him as Dear in proportion as his tobaco was sold Cheap. thus the Inhabitants of america were allways from hand to mouth. Indeed they have this happiness well for them, that all necessarys for life, abound in this fine Country in the utmost plenty: however they seem already to be intent on raising manufactures, spinning and weaving both woolen and linnen, and more Especially to the norw'd. In Boston they make all their own aparell. In so much that there are great Complaints in England of the few goods taken of their hands this last year by the Colony's: if they put this resolution in Execution it must be a fatal stroke to England, for their Chief Dependance is on their manufactures to which these Colonys were a Considerable suport.

June the 28th. remained at tulip hill with Mr. Junifer.

the 30th. went to a fishing party to the Bay Side being Invited by a Quaker who gave a feast there.

July the 1st. Came with Mr. Junifer to annopolis where the provincial Court begins the 10th. *the 3d. Do.* Dined with old Squ'r Carrol of anopolis.[24] he is looked on to be the most moneyed man in maryland but at the same time the most avaritious. he is a stanche Roman Catholique, keeps but very litle Company owing perhaps to his Distaste to the protestants. I was never genteeler received by any perssonne than I was by him. he has no family, only a b. son who he Intends to make his sole heir. he had part of his Education in france.

the 6th. Dined with Mr. Key, atorney general, who is a very sencible man.

the 9th. Dined with Barister Carrol[25] (who Came for the Court) in Company with Several Gentlemen, who were the top of the province. they were all scheming how to rise manufactures. one had sent home for weavers, another for spiners, another, other things, In short in three

[23] *Cf.* the letters of John Beale Bordley in J. B. Gilson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family*, pp. 82–85.

[24] The same Charles Carroll—of Annapolis or Elk Ridge or Doughoregan—referred to above, note 18. What is said here of his son's birth is contradicted by the data given in Miss Rowland's biography.

[25] Charles Carroll, barrister (1723–1783), a distant relative of Charles Carroll of Carrollton; he was afterward a member of several of the revolutionary conventions of Maryland, and of the Continental Congress.

[26] James Tilghman, elder brother of Matthew Tilghman, M. C. C., and father of Chief Justice William Tilghman of Pennsylvania. *Md. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 369. Governor Sharpe, in a letter of May 8, 1764, speaks of him as "Mr. James Tilghman, lately Burgess [member of the assembly, 1763] for Talbot and one of our first-rate lawyers, but now settled in Philadelphia". *Md. Archives*, XIV. 160. Barrister Carroll had in 1763 married the eldest daughter of Matthew Tilghman.

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years time they would not have a farthings worth of anything from England. there was one Mr. tilghman here from philadelphia[26] who says that the people in Boston are highly infla'd against the mother Country, and that their first toast after Dinner is the virginia assembly. that they, have wrote to all the Different assemblys on the Continent to send three members from Each, to meet at new york as a Comitee, to Consult what measures they should take to opose the Stamp act.[27] this general Comitee is to set the 1st of 8'bre, And is the best method they Could fall on the [to] unite the sentiments and Interests of the Different Colonys or provinces into one. it must be observed, that G. B. has hithertoo, Encouraged Disunion as much as possible betwixt the Differ't Colonys, by setleing here, a Kings Government, and there a Propriatary Gt., which are always oposit in their sentiments. the Inhabitants of Ks. Gts. think themselves much hapyer than the others, and they again are of quite Diff't opinon, and Youl observe the many Diff't sects and sorts of worship amongst them, which is very much encouraged from Engl'd. there is for Example Carolina, abounds with presbiterians, Virginia, hardly any other than the Church of England. [*In margin*: except about Norfolk.] Maryl'd were formerly all Catholiques, but very much alterd since the Change of the stupid propietor.[28] pensilvania, mostly quakers, I hear, but they begin to Dwindle away. the new Jersys and York governments a mixture of all Sorts, where they seem, particularly In new York, to be less Bigoted to religion than any other part of the Continent (Except Charles town in S. Carolina) by what I learn. Rhode Island was setled first by people Banished from Boston, and was for some years the general asilum for such as sufered from the spirit of persecution that reigned then at Boston. those were Called sectaries and espoused the Covenant of Grace, and were persecuted by those whom held the Covenant of the works: so that there are Jensinists and molinists in this part of the world as well as elsewhere, but under Different Denominations.

In Boston they are ranck Bigoted presbiterians, of these sort of people preserve me o Lord.

All this Ive mentioned only to shew that G. B. by Encouraging these Divisions and Differences betwixt the Colonys, think they Can by that means keep them allways at vareance amongst themselves and Consequently wholely Dependent on them and subject to their will, but great is their mistake in this, for the Inhabitants of north america Can lay asside their religion, when their Interest requires it, as well as the English Can, and allways have done.

July the 11th. Dined at My friend the Magestrates Mr. Stuart in a full Company, and allways the old Cause but with moderation on acc't of Mr. Judge.

July the 12th. Dined at Mr. Dicks mayor of London town, a Clever old gentleman.[29]

Do. 14. had all the gentlemen whom shewed me Civilitys to Dine with me at my tavern to the number of 22.

[27] Resolutions of June 8.

[28] Meaning, either the accession of the unworthy sixth lord, Frederick, the present proprietor, or the renunciation of Catholicism by Benedict, the fourth lord.

[29] James Dick, of the firm of James Dick and Stewart, of London and Annapolis. *Md. Mag. of Hist.*, III. 246.

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Do. 15th. the assembly[30] Disolved for want of Jurymen. non came to town for fear of the smallpox which is now bad in it.

the 16th. went to a fishing party out in the Bay where we me[t] the governor and several others.

the 20th. went with a large Company of gentle[men] to the governors, where 6 of us, namely Navy[31] Diggs Esqr., the two Galloways, Mr. Junifer, the atorney general and myself, Stayed three Days.

the 23d. came back from the governors to anopolis.

the 25th. went with a large Company of ladys and gentlemen, to the governors to a barbicue. Came back the Same even'g to town.

Maryland is Divided by the North Extremity of Chesapeak Bay into two parts, called the Eastern and western shores. this province like virginia has no Consid'e towns, and for the reason, namely, the number of its navigable Creeks and rivers. the staple Comodity of maryland is Chiefly tobacco; and the planters live in farms scaterd about the Country, and have the same Conveniency as the Virginians of ships Comeing to their Doors, by means of Chesapeak Bay, and its navigable rivers thertoo Communiciating. their yearly Exports in tobacco is Computed to be about 30 th'd hhds. the white taxables are about 35 thousd. there is some woolen manufacture Caried on in the County of Somerset. their Comon Country Drink is cyder, which is very good. this Country also abounds in wild grapes which makes me think that if it was Cultivated it would produce wine. maryland is favoured by nature with all necessary Convenience for shiping as well as all the other provinces. hemp grows well. it has plenty of timber and Iron. Samuel Galloway Esqr. has a ship yard on the head of west river within two small miles of his house where he has a ship Carpenter that builds him several ships. those that have purchased them built hithertoo gives them a good Caracter.

the Chief rivers are Potowmack (which it has in Common with virginia), Patuxent, and severn, on the western shore, Chiptonk, Chester, and Sassapas[32] on the Eastern.

the province is Divided into 11 Countys. six on the west, and 5 on the Eastern side of Chesapeak. those on the western side are, St. marys, Charleses, Prince George, Calvert, anne arundel and Baltimore Counties. on the Eastern side are Somerset, Dorchester, Talbot, Kent, and Cecil Counties.[33] alexandria is their Chief town in the Back of the province, but Inconsiderable.

Lord Baltimore is Both Proprietor and govern[or] of Maryland. the family is now of the protestant perssuasion, but not a bit the more Esteemed for it. he is much Dispised in Maryland partikularly.

July the 26th. Set out infine from Anopolis to the Norwd. Crossed the Bay to hutchins fery on Kent Island, which is about 12 or 14 m. from hence. Cross the Island to the Eastern Shore fery which is ¼ of a mile Broad. Kent Island is very good land, some farms on it, but Cheafly Catle. this Island and the Eastern [Shore] is in general, low and flat, full of Swamps and Swashes of Brakish water. this part

[30] Meaning, the provincial court. There was no session of the assembly until September 23.

[31] Ignatius; see note 6, above.

[32] Choptank, Chester, and Sassafras.

[33] There were several others.

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of maryland is the moste unhealthy, very subject to feavors. I never saw such a quantity of muskitoes in any part of the world as here.

from Eastern Shore fery to queenstown, a Small place 12m. Dist. here Dined. from thence to Churchil,[34] a litle Country town also. the Country very pleasant and fine roads. farming seems [to] take up the peoples atention here more than any other. they raise great quantitys of wheat and Indian Corn. tobacco Does not answer at all and is but litle Cultivated on this [side of] the Bay. the water is but very Indifferent and Contributes much to the sickliness of this part.

Do. the 27th. from Churchil to fredericks or Prince Georges town 20 mi. on sassapas river,[35] a very fine situation, but a small place of litle trade. from hence to Mr. Chews to whome I had a letter from Mr. Galloway; he has a Store at Prince Georges, and a farm about 4 miles from thence. here I lay. this is Cecil County which seems still beter Cultivated than hithertoo. Indeed this has been the Case all along as I Came to the northward.

the 28th. from Mr. Chews to New Castle on the Delawar. this is a prety town Consisting of about 500 Dwelling houses. it is looked upon as the next to philadelphia In the province. it is about 30 from this last, S. W., on the north side of said river. there was two Kings Fregates of[f] the town to visit the vessels going in and out therby to hinder foreign trade.[36] from New castle to wilmington, 6 miles. crossed the fery at Christeen river.[37] this is a small but very well situated litle town, on the side of sd. river. large ships Can Come up this river to the town.[38] it is about 1 mile Dist. from the Bay, on which the town has a fine prospect, being on the side of a hill. this place is so near the City that there is but litle trade Caryed on. tavern Keeping is the best business that is Caryed on in all those small towns, therfore are they well stocked with taverns. here I lay.

July the 29th. Set out Early for Chester, 12 miles. the weather Extremly hot. the horsses had great Difficulty to Dr[a]gg me along. Chester is on Priest Creek[39] about 15 miles from philad. the roads from willmington are very hilly and stoney which seemd odd at first, being so long acustomed to fine level roads. I met here a number of gentlemen and ladys who Came out from the City on a party of pleasure. I Dined in their Company and wee all Set out together after Dinner. arrived at p[h]ilad. at 6½ and took lodgeings at the widow Gradens in Second Street, which is the only genteel lodgeing in town.[40] we

[34] The locality is still called Church Hill; it is in the northern part of Queen Anne County, some five miles southeast of Chestertown.

[35] On Griffith's map of Maryland (1794) the village on the north side of the Sassafras is called Frederick, that on the south side Georgetown, and such are the names recorded by Philip Fithian, who journeyed along this same route from Annapolis in 1774. *Journal and Letters*, pp. 154, 155. Now these villages are called Fredericktown and Georgetown, respectively.

[36] One was the *Sardoine*, Capt. James Hawker. *Md. Archives*, XIV. 238, 239; *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, V. 18.

[37] Christiana Creek.

[38] *Cf.* Kalm, *Travels into North America* (Warrington, 1770), I. 157.

[39] Ridley Creek. On Thomas Holme's map (1687) it is called "Preest Creek".

[40] The widow Graydon, mother of Alexander Graydon the author of the cele-

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Crossed sculkill fery about 3 miles from town, from whence the road to philada. is Beautifull, the Country one Continuall farm and several prety litle Country houses.

August the 3d. went to a fishing party on sculkill river in Company with Samuel Mifflin Esqr., Messrs. Willing and moris[41] (to whom I had a letter of recomend'n from Beans and Cuthbert In Jamaica) and severall other of the first people in the town, where we Spent the Day.

Do. the 5th. went [to] German town with another Company to see the stocking manufacture. this is a Small place setled by Germans and Dutch who are all stocking weavers and manufacture great quantitys of thread and woolen.

Do. 7th. went again with another Company to Sculkill falls which are not Considerable wheras boats and flats Can Come Down without any great Dangour. there is here what they Call a museum or a room where they have a Colection of all the Curiossitys they can pick up in the Country, which Consists in Different sorts of fowls, fishes, shels, sneaks, and other Curious anymals, also Indian dresses and Diff't ornaments. there were a few miners here Blowing up the rocks of the fall to facilitate the passage for Boats over it, for when once over the falls they Can go a Considerable way up the Country. we Dined at a tavern that is here, a large Company of both sexes.

August the 10th. Mr. Mifflin introduced me to the Governor, with whom we Dined.[42] he is nephew to Mr. Pen the proprietor. there are two brothers of them here.

Do. 12th. went with Mr. harden the roman Catholique missionary[43] to Dine with Messrs. mead and fitsimons also roman.[44]

brated *Memoirs,* was born in Barbadoes, of a German father and a Scottish mother, and married an Irishman. Thus qualified for the entertainment of a cosmopolitan company, she, after her husband's death, began to keep a boarding-house in Philadelphia. Her son describes several of her more interesting guests, but, alas, makes no mention of our traveller. Johann Kalb, coming to Philadelphia on a similar commission from the French government, boarded with Mrs. Graydon in 1768 and 1769. The house in which she lived in 1765 was the "Slate-roof House", at the southeast corner of Second Street and Norris's Alley, built in 1687 and standing till 1867 (picture in *Pa. Mag. of Hist.,* IV. 52). Graydon, *Memoirs* (ed. 1846), pp. 18, 20, 33, 43, 62, 64.

[41] Samuel Mifflin (d. 1781), a relative of Thomas Mifflin, was a prominent merchant in Philadelphia; see previous installment, note 63. The firm of Willing and Morris (Thomas Willing and Robert Morris), established in 1754, continued till 1793, and was during most of that time one of the chief mercantile firms in the city. Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, and Samuel Mifflin were all members of the Mount Regale Fishing Company.

[42] John Penn (1729–1795), son of Richard, lieutenant-governor 1763–1771, deputy-governor 1773–1775. His father and his uncle Thomas were both proprietaries in 1765. The brother next mentioned was Richard (1736–1811), lieutenant-governor 1771–1773.

[43] Rev. Robert Harding, S.J., missionary in Philadelphia from 1749 to his death in 1772. Rev. Jacob Duché, in "Caspipina's Letters" (*Observations on a Variety of Subjects,* Philadelphia, 1774, p. 114), speaks of him as "a decent well bred Gentleman, . . . much esteemed by all denominations of christians in thi city".

[44] George Mead (1741–1808), grandfather of Gen. George G. Meade, an Thomas Fitzsimons (1741–1811), member of the Federal Convention of 1787, C. 1789–1795, were brothers-in-law and partners.

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Do. 16th. went on second party on sculkill river.

Philadelphia Capital of pensilvania is situated on a neck of land at the Confluence of the two fine rivers, Delawar and Schulkill. it is layed out in the form of a paralelogram or long square, and Designed when finished, to extend two miles, from river to river, and to Compose eight long streets which are to be intersected at right angles by sixteen others Each a mile in length, broad, spacious and Even, with proper spaces left for the public buildings Churches and market places, in the Center is a Square of 10 acres, round which the public buildings are to be Disposed. the two principal streets, called hight Street,[45] and Broad Street, are each one hund'd feet in Breadth, the others 60, and most of the houses have a small garden or orchard. there are great numbers of wharfs, the principal an hund'd. foot wide, and water enough for ships of 500 tuns burthen to load and unload alongside them. the ware houses are numerous and commodious, and the Docks for ship building are well adapted and Convenient. there is now twenty Vessels on the Stocks, great and small, some of the former three hund. tuns Burthen. the City exclusive of warehouses Consists of about 3,000 houses or more, the number of inhabitants, Computed to be about 30,000. the original of the town which I have Described here is far from being Completed, but is more advanced than any town whatsoever Ever was in so short a time, and encreasses Daily very considerably. there is a number of very rich merchants in this City. their trade is considerable to all westindia Islands, also the madeiras, spain, portugal, England, Ireland, and holand, there is a Surprising quantity of all kind of grain raised in the province Espec'y wheat, with which the[y] suplied England and Ireland abundantly this year, where it was very scarce, they have all kinds of provisions great plenty of vegetables, all this is brought Down the rivers Delawar and Sculkill. the Dutch[46] Employ between 8 and 900 thd. wagons drawn with four horsses Each In bringing the product of their farms to philadelph[ia] market. there has been 300 Vessels Cleard out of this port in one year, and as many Enter'd. their Chief Exportations, are, grain, lumber, Iron, of which there is plenty, Beef, pork, flaxseed, some hemp and furs, the hemp theyl find use amongst themselves as the[y] have now many roperies and make very good Canvas or Duck. their Importations from the westindias Consists in sugar, rum, Cofee Coten, and Molasses, sometimes Cash. they have set up several looms of late where there is very good linnen made, and no Doubt but the stamp Duty will augment their aplication that way. they send great quantitys of flaxseed to Ireland yearly, in return for which they have Irish linnens. the established religion was quaker formerly, but all believers in Christ are tolararted, the quakers seem to Dwindle very fast, there is a roman Church here[47] to which resorts about 1200 people, many of which are Dutch, they are in generall poor. there are several good churches of protestants and presbiterens. the state house is a very good building, also the hospital. there are three public liberaries.[48] they have two

[45] High Street, now Market.

[46] Germans. Lord Adam Gordon attributes to them 20,000 wagons (Mereness, *Travels in the Colonies*, p. 411), Burnaby, 9000 (*Travels*, ed. 1775, p. 50).

[47] St. Mary's, a frame building on Fourth Street above Spruce.

[48] The library of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Loganian Library, and probably that of the American Philosophical Society are meant. See Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I. 86, 87.

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market Days in the week, wednesdays, and saturdas. It is amazeing the quantity of meat (which is exceed fine) and all kinds of provisions vegitables and fruits, that abounds at this market, and the number of people of both sexes, that Comes to buy provisions on those Days.

The Climate of Pensilvania is very agreable, and the air sweet and Clean. the fall or autumn begins about the 20th 8bre and lasts to the Begining of Xbre,[49] when the winter sets in, which Continues til march, frosty weather and extreme Cold seasons, are very Common here, so that the river Delawar tho broad and rapid, is often froze over, but then the weather is Dry and healthy. the spring lasts from march to June, and the Sumer in July, august, and September, Dureing which, the heats are Excessive, particularly in the night, more Disagreably so, than In the Island of hispaniola in the hotest time, this I have experienced.

the Soil of this province is in some places a black or yellow sand, in some light and gravelly, and in the vales along rivers sides a fat mould. the earth is very fruitful and easy to be laboured, it is prety well watered, well furnished with timber and Iron. In Short there is no part of america in a more flourishing Condition than pensilvania. great numbers of people abound to it, in some years more have transported themselves into this province, then into all the others besides. In the year 1729, 6208 perssons Came as passengers and servants, to setle here, four fifths of whom were from Ireland. they Continue still Comeing, to avoid the misery of their own Country, where they are a thousand times worse than guinea Slaves.

the Chief Inland town in pensilvania is lancaster, Sixty miles from philada. back in the Country. here they renew their treaties with the Indians, there is a prety Considerable trade Caryed on here with the back setlers. the Inhabitants of this province are a well Disposed people of a moderate Jenius, strong and well looking. they are more shie of strangers than in the other provs. and litle Curious of getting acquainted with them, or shewing any civilitys Except they have very good recommendations, this they say themselves, is owing to tricks put upon them by strangers, but I belive to be more owing to the reservedness of the quakers, which seems to have infused itself into all the Inhabit's,

August the 20th. Set out this morning for New York. breakfastd at fronkfort, 6 miles, a Small vilage. Dined at the red Lion tavern, 7 miles;[50] and slept at the Delawar fery tavern, 16 m., where I met with young Thoms. Mifflin[51] and others.

Do. 21st. Crossed the Delawar near the falls. went thorough trenton, 1 m. [*In margin*: There [are] Baraks by Trent[on] to hold 600 men.][52] and breakf'd at princetown. this is a prety Country town situated in a fine fruitful agreable Country. there is a good Colege here large Enough to hold 400 people, there is now 160 scholars.[53] prince

[49] October 20; December.

[50] At the mouth of Poquessing Creek, now Torresdale.

[51] Afterward the celebrated major-general, president of Congress, signer of the Constitution, and governor of Pennsylvania; at this time a youth of twenty-one.

[52] Burnaby, p. 54, who also mentions barracks at Princeton, New Brunswick, and Perth Amboy.

[53] The *Account* of the college published by the trustees in 1764 gives the number as 120. MacLean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, II. 273.

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town is 10 m from trenton. from here to Brunswick,[54] 14 miles. here I Dined. there is also a Barack here. the road is very fine hithertoo, the Country well inhabited. this side the Delawar Is new Jersys. it [is] well cultivated, great plenty of all Sorts of fruits on each side, with which they faten the hogs in the season. indeed all the Catle like it beter than grass. they make great quantitys of Cider here but not Extraordinary in quality. after Dinner Crossed the fery[55] and continued to amboy, 12 m. this is the Capital of East Jersy, Consisting of about 200 houses. it is well situated and has a comods. harbour there is Barracks here also. the Jerseys are Divided into East and west, amboy is Capitl of the first, and Burlington (which is on the Delawr. 20 m. above philadelphia) Capital of west Jersy. the Governor resides 6 months in one place and 6 in the other. this Colony is well Inhabited and Cultivated. the climate is healthy and temperate. its general produce is, all sorts of Grain, horsses, black Catle, hogs, skins and pipe Staves, the[y] Catch some whale on the Coast.

they Export Bread, Corn, flower, Beef, pork, hams, fish, some buter, and bar Iron, to west Indies, for which they receive, sugar molasses and rum in return; they send to England skins, pitch, tar, whale bone, etc. and oyl, for which the[y] have furniture and Cloath'g.

As the towns generally ly up in the Country the trade is Chiefly over land to new York.

there are from 100 to 200 familys in one place, great part of which are Dutch. the number of Inhabitants is computed at 65,000 of all ages and sexes, of which 6000 are men fit to Cary arms, and about 200 Indians. there is no Considerable town in the Jersys, amboy being the most so of any.

August the 22d. Crossed the fery from amboy to Staten Island which is about a mile broad, from hence to watsons fery at the other Extremity of the Island, 16 miles. here I Broke fast. this Island is in the province of new York, Distance about 9 m. N. W.[56] from the metropolis. it is about [13] miles in length, and 6 or 7 in breadth. on the South side is a Considerable tract of good level land, but the Island in general is rough and the hills prety high and stoney. the Inhabitants are principally Dutch and some french.

Sandy hook, and the Southermust point of long Island, form the Entrance of New York Bay. this is Called the narows. it is but 2 m. broad and opens the ocean to full view. the passage up to York from sandy hook is safe, and not above 25 miles in length. the Common navigation is between the East and west bancs, in two or three and twenty feet water, but it is said that an Eighty gun ship may be brought thorough a narrow winding unfrequen'd Channel, between the North End of the East bank and Coney Island. there has been a 70 gun ship up Close to the town. the Island on which the City is built is about 14 m. long, and not above one mile broad. the S. W. point projects into a fine spacious bay, 9 miles in length and about 4 in breadth, at the Confluence of hudssons or N. W. river and the streight between long Island and the North Eastern Shore, or East river. on this point is the City, which Consists of about 2700 houses or buildings, it is upwards of a mile in

[54] New Brunswick.

[55] Over the Raritan.

[56] Southwest.

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length and about ½ that in breadth, it is said to be a very healthy spot. the East and South parts are low and Convenient for wharfs, the north and west parts Elevated and Dry. the Streets are Iregualar, but being paved with round pebles, are allways Clean. there are Several well built brick houses in the English taste, the others in the Dutch with the gablends towards the Streets and Coverd with tyles;[57] this City is suplyed with markets in Different parts, abounding with great plenty and variety, they have Beef, pork, veal, muton, poultry, veneson, wild fowl, Especially wild pigeon, fish, oysters, roots, and all Kinds of vegitables and fruits, in their Seasons; this City is the metropolis of the province and by its Comodious situation Commands all the trade of the western part of Connecticut and that of East Jersy; no Season prevents their shipin from going out and Comeing into port, there are allways pilot boats at the narows ready to Conduct them In on first sight.

upon the S. W. point of the City stands the fort which is a square with four Bastions mounted with 9 pounders but in very bad order.[58] within the walls is the Governors house where he usualy resides, oposite to it are brick Baracks. the Governors house is 3 stories high and fronts to the west.

Below the walls of this fort or garison near the water there is a fortification to Defend the grand road, (but Ships Can lye with safety out of its reach) the lower part or foundation of this Batery is built with stone, and the merlons Consist of Ceder Joists filld up with Earth. it mounts 92 24 pounders which are almost level with the water. this fortif'on is not of any great service to the harbour, which is in East river and also the principle part of the town which lyes that way. about 6 furlongs from the fort lys noten Island[59] behind which, betwixt [it] and long Island, is a passage for prety large vessels, on which not one gun of this fortif'on Can be brought to bare. this Island lys about S E from the fort in the midle of East river. it is reserved as a Sort of a Demesne for the Governors, they pro[po]se to Erect a Strong Castle on it, but there is as yet not the least apearance thereof. this according to my Judgement is the p[r]operest place for a fortif'on.

there are besides this, two other Islands in the Bay oposite the town but out of reach of the guns, they say there is very good fresh water on all those Islands they serve for vessels to ly Curenteen by them.

the City hall is a Strong building two Stories high situated where four Streets meet and fronts to the S. W. on one of the most Spacious Streets in town. here they hold their Council and General Courts.

the Inhabitants of new York are a mixed people, mostly Decended from the Dutch planters originally, there are still two Churches in which religious worship is performed in that language, but the number that talk it Diminishes Daily. all religions are permited here Except the roman Catholique.

the City of York Consists principally of merchants, shop keepers, and tradesmen (as Dos philadelphia) who have the reputation of punctual and fair Dealings. there are Some very rich houses in it. the people are very sociable and kind [to] Strangers.

felt makeing is a Considerable Branche in york and it is said their hats are as good as in England.

[57] *Cf.* Kalm, *Travels*, I. 249.

[58] See also Lord Adam Gordon (Mereness, p. 415), and other travellers.

[59] Governor's Island.

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the N. E. part of New York Island is Inhabited Chiefly by Dutch farmers who have a Small vilage there Called harlem pleasantly Situated on a flat Cultivated for the City Markets.

scarce a third part of the province is Cultivated. the Colony of Connecticut which is vastly inferior to this In its Extent, has according to a late Computation, above 133,000 Inhabitants of which a militia of 27000 men, wheras the whole number of Souls Containd in New York province is but 110,000, and the militia 18000.

the Situation of new york with regard to foreign markets Is to be prefered to any of the Colonies. it lies in the Center of the Continent, has at all times a Short and easy access to the ocean, and has almost the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersy, two fertile and well Cultivated Colonies. hudsons river which runs up in the Country near lake ontario (and Caries Small vessels as far as albany on Sd. river 150 [m.] from York) Impowers them to Cary on a Conssiderable trade with the Back Indians, to whom they Send rum, amunition, blankets, Strouds,[60] and wampum or Conque shell Bugles. In return for which, they have all Kinds of furs, and peltrys; they allways have been in good Inteligence with the five nation, now Six Nation Indians, which are the Bravest and most redoutable of all the Indian Nations, that Canada has often Experienced;

the Importation of Dry goods from England to this province has been Conssiderable formerly, Insomuch that the merchants were often at a loss how to make returns, or remitances to the English merchants, but this is not so much the Case now, and Especially since the Stamp Dutys have been talked of. Indeed the Inhabitants of all the Different Colonies are so Exasperated at this present time, at the stationing men of war all along the Coste to prevent their Carying on any foreign trade, Especially with the french Islands and now ading the Stamp Duties, that they are resolved to raise every thing within themselves, and Import nothing from England. this resolution tho of a Short Standing, has afected England to that Degree that Several Corps of tradespeople were risen, and Could not be quelled without a Conssiderable body of troops that were Dispersed in the Difft. parts of the City of london for that purpose.

there had been severall perssons apointed in the Different Colonies, to be Colectors of Sd. Duties, but they were all glad to resigne to save their lives.

the Exports of New york to the west Indias are flower, peas, rye meal, bread, Indian Corn, ognions, boards, Staves, lumber, horses, sheep, pickled oysters, beef and pork. of flower, which is the main article, there has been shiped about 90,000 Barels, pr. annum. to preserve their Credit in this important branche of their staple, they apoint officers to Inspect and brand every Barrel before it is shiped. the returns are Chiefly sugar, rum, molasses etc. the spaniards Commonly Contract with this and the Colony of Pensilvania for provisions, and with Virginia for Masts and yards, much to the advantage of Sd. Colonies, the returns being wholly in Cash. their wheat, flower, Indian Corn, and lumber, shiped to lisbone and the maderas, balance the madera wine Imported which is no small quantity, it being their usual Drink after meals. they Export to Ireland great quantitys of flax Seed. they Sent in one year 13,000 hhds. in return they have Irish linnens.

[60] Blankets.

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there is along hudsons river great stock of timber of all Kinds and good Conveniences for ship building, also Iron mines in plenty and of the best quality out of which they furnish Boston and road Island, for their bulding. this is a Considerable branche of the trade of this province, the bodys of Iron mines in the Northern parts of it are so many, their quality so good, and their situation so Convenient with regard to wood, water, Cariages, and all other Conveniencies, that it is generally thought (with attention) they might rival the Swedes in this article.

North america is provided by nature, with Every thing necessary, to becom the greatest martime power In the univers, its harbours are Numerous and Comodious, its Coasts of Easy access, by the sounds, which you have on all the Continent a Conssiderable Distance of [into] the land. timber and Iron abounds in all parts, Navall Stores in the gratest plenty, and hemp grows as well as in any Country whatsoever. Joigned to this the healthiness of Climate, the great propogation, youl See about the farmers houses in the Country, Children Swarming, like broods of Ducks in a pond, they Come quiker to maturity than in Europe are strong and robust, in general well Disposed, Easy lead on to any undertaking, but Soon Discouraged if the Success Does not imediatly answer their Expect'on. they have this in Common with the English, Soon up, and as soon Down, that is, they are Easily Elevated in spirit, and as Easy Dejected. an Enterprising man that would Study these people and gain their inclinations will bring them to do any thing he pleases.

this Country Can not be long subject to great Britain, nor Indeed to any Distant power, its Extent is so great the Daily Encrase of its Inhabitants So Considerable, and haveing every thing necessary within themselves for (more than) their own Defence, that no Nation whatsoever seems beter Calculated for independency, and the Inhabitants are already Intirely Disposed therto and talk of nothing more than it.

It is Computed that there are at least ten thousand Convicts and pasengers, or indented Servants, imported yearly into the Different Colonies, the first are Sent to Virginia and maryland only, and likewise Indented servants; But the Colonies to the Northward of maryland admit no Convicts, but Serv'ts as many as will Come.[61] there has Come to philadel'a alone, 5000 in one year, ¾ of which were from Ireland, great numbers of Dutch and germans; those Indented Servants, are poor people that Can not pay their passage and signe Indentures to the Cap'ns for the payment therof. he on his arival Sells these indtures to the highest bider, they are generally for four years, some more, Dureing which time these poor wretches are obliged to Serve like slaves or Convicts, and are on the same footing; If ever any foreign power Comes to Invade the Country, and publishes the liberty to all of those people that will Joign with them, they'l Certainly all take party, and I look on them to be fiter for Soldiers than the Inhabitants, being Eured to hard labour and fatigue, acustomed to live hard:

August the 26th. Crossed over the Channel to long Island, sometimes Calld Nassau Island, which is In the province of new york. it is about 120 m. long and not above 18 broad. It is Divided from the Continent by a Channel of 100 m. in length, and 12 In Breadth. there are many Convenient harbours. it Contains the Countys of sufolk, Rich-

[61] On the matter of the convicts, see the late Dr. J. D. Butler's article in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, II. 12–33.

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mond[62] and queens County. its trade is in furs, Skins and tobaco to great Britain, and horses, Beef, pork, peas, wheat, oats, and Corn, to the west India Islands, In return for which they have sugar, rum, molasses, Cotten, Cofee, etc. the Soil is very good on this Island. all sorts of vegitables and fruits abound on it, hemp and flax grows very well also. In the midle of the Island there is Salisbury plaine 16 miles long and 4 broad, on which there is neither Stick nor Stone to be Seen, a fine place to Encamp an army. there is an Excelent Breed of horses on the Island, for which reason their militia regiment is all Cavalry. there are Several small Islands of the Eastern Coast but non Inhabited; they have a whale fishery here sending the oil and bones to England, there are also other fisheries. I Dined and lay at the fery tavern.

August the 27th. Crossed over to York. the 28th Dined with John wats Esqr.[63] In Company with General Gage[64] his lady and Several officers. it is thought Mr wats will be made Lieutenant Governor of this province. Sir henry moore Is apointed governor and Expected out Daily, he was lieutenant governor of Jamaica, a very agreable polite gentleman and Intirely the Courtier, talks all languages, well.[65] there was nothing talked of at York Dureing my Stay there but the spirited and patriotic behavior of the Inhabitants of the northern Colonies Especially Boston, where the people had a few Days ago surownded the Stamp officers house who seemed to have some reluctancy to resigning his office, and would have leveled it with the ground if he had not Imediately resigned and promised never to act in that quality upon any acct. next Day they Caried lord Butes Efigie in a Cart round the town and hanged it to [a] tree where it lay Exposed till Dark (with a guard at the foot of Sd tree) then they throwed him into a fire round which they sung and Danced all night, the Same thing was Done in providence, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. they all Declare Solemnly that when the Stamp papers Come over they'l set fire to the house wherein the[y] are lodged.

August the 29th. Dined and suped with Messrs. young and walas, the fever took me at night which held me three Days Dureing which Doctor midleton[66] atended me.

Sepr. the 3d. Set out from York to philadela. Crossed the fery to powlers[67] hook, 2 miles broad, from thence to Bargin[68] fery, 9 miles. the fery about ½ a mile. to Elizabeth point fery 2½ miles, the fery ¼. to Elizabeth town 2 m. Dined here, a prety litle Inland town where there is a Court house and a Decent Church the Country about it fruitfull and well Cultivated, plenty of grain and fruit. from hence to wood Bridge[69] a Small vilage 10 [miles] Dist.

Do. the 4th. from wood Bridge to Brunswick fery 10 m. the fery ½.

[62] Suffolk, Queens, and Kings. Richmond County was and is Staten Island.

[63] John Watts (1715–1789), member of the council, Loyalist.

[64] Maj.-Gen. Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief in America 1763–1772, afterward governor of Massachusetts.

[65] Sir Henry Moore governed Jamaica most of the time from 1756 to 1761, and New York from November, 1765, to his death in 1769.

[66] Dr. Thomas Middleton, author of *An Historical Inquiry into the Ancient and Present State of Medicine* (New York, 1769).

[67] Paulus.

[68] Bergen.

[69] Woodbridge, N. J.

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this town is the finest Situated of any that Ive yet Seen for a Country town. it is on Raritan river about 15 miles from its mouth, on the west Side therof, on a riseing grownd at the top of which is a fine Barak. on Each Side the river are Several prety Country Seats and farms well tended which has a very prety Efect, there is a Coper mine about 10 m. up this river which Does not promise much at present, altho great things were Expect from it afirst.

amboy on the mouth of this river (which Ive before mentioned) is well situated for trade, haveing a fine and safe harbour in Sandy hook Bay suficient to hold 500 Sail of Shiping of any Burthen, vessels may also be built very Conveniently here and Cheap, Notwithstanding these advantages it is but a Small place of no trade, which is owing to its proximity to York. it Consists of about 40 or 50 scatered houses Some of which are good buildings. its situation is both pleasant and healthy.

after Breakfast Set out from Brunswick to Prince town 16 miles, here I went to meeting [70] at which was a Considerable Congregation of presbitirians. from hence to trenton where I lay.

Sepr. the 5th. from trenton to the red lion and from thence to Philadelphia the same road I went.

Do. 6th. this morning Mr. Mifflin Introduced me to governor Pen with whom we Dined.

the 7th. Dined with mr alen [71] to [whom] mr mifflin Intrd. me also.

Quelque jours [72] avant mon Depart De Philadelphia on y avoit recue la nouvelle, que, la perssonne qui avoit Eté nommé receveur Des nouvelles Droits a York,[73] C'Etoit Demis De cette Charge, et que le gouverneur[74] y avoit nommé Son fils Et C'Etoit retiré dans le fort, avec les troopes qui Ce trouvoient pour lors dans la Ville, et avoit ordonné aux Cap'ns De Deux fregattes qui Etoient En rade De s'aprochér De la ville pou[r] la Cannonér En Cas que les habitants Eussent fait le moindre mouvement.

[March 13, 1765.] J'ai quitté le Batiment au Cap look Out et me Suis rendu a New bern En trarverssant la Caroline Du Nord, Dont cette Ville Doit Etre la Capitalle, elle est apresent peu Conssiderable, ainssi que toutte les autres Villes de Cette province, excepté le Cap fare, qui est la plus Comercantte, Cependant la navigation est assé mauvaise a cette derniérre puisqu'il ny á que 17 pieds D'Eau sur la barre, qui est a Son entré, a hautte mer.

la riviérre sur la quelle est batie New bern, ainssi que toutte Celles que J'ai traverssé en allant a Virgine, qui Sonts Consider[able] et en grand Nombre, Communiquent a une meme Embouchure qu'on nomme

[70] It was not Sunday, but Wednesday.

[71] Probably Andrew Allen (1740–1825), the attorney-general, son of Chief Justice William Allen and brother-in-law of Governor John Penn. He was for a brief period a member of the Continental Congress, resigning in 1776; then a Loyalist; see *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 206–211.

[72] This paragraph is written on a separate page of the manuscript, the fifty-fifth. The matter, in French, on pp. 56–62, is omitted here, as merely repeating the diarist's English narrative of his journey down to March 13, 1765 (see previous installment).

[73] James MacEvers.

[74] Cadwallader Colden, acting governor. These references show that the diarist left Philadelphia in the latter part of October.

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Ocacock, ou il y á une barre sur la quelle Il ny á que 9 pieds D'Eau, Ce qui fait que le Comerce y est peu Conssiderable.

Norfolk, la Ville la plus Comercantte et Conssiderable De la Virginie, est situé Du Cotté de l'Est de la riviérre Elizabeth (qui Donne dans James riviérre a une lieux au dessous) á un des beau[75] ports que la Nature peut former et, est munie de tout ce qui est Necessaire pour la Construction ou reparation Des Navires de quelque grandeurs que Ce Soit. sur le Côtté oposé, et vis a vis de Norfolk, est une petitte Ville nouvellement Etablie nommé portsmouth, qui á plusieures quays, aupres Des quels les plus gros batiments peuvent Carenér. tous les Batiments qui onts afaire dans la virginie ou le Maryland s'ils ont besoins de Radoub vienent Içi, D'autant mieux qu'ils y trouvent Ce qui leur faut, et que le port et sure l'Entrée et la sortie facille.

Il est Etonnant que les Habitants n'ont Jamais penssé a fortifiér un Endroit qui parroit Devoir être D'une grande Concequence pour le Comerce du païs, Car l'Enemie peut y entrér en tems de guérre et ravagér la Ville sans oposition, ny ayant pas Un seul Cannon; Ny Dans les Environs, l'on pouroient, me Dira't on, y Assembler 2,000 homes en peu de tems, mais que peuvent deux ou trois mille homes Efrayé, sans Diciplinne, surpris sans s'y atendre, quand mem Ce Seroit par Un Nombre bien moindre qu'eux, mais qui seroit resolu, et bien armé. [*In margin*: en Cas de surprise ils auroient de la peine a r'assembler mille homes.]

la richesse de Set Endroit ne Dédomagerez pas Des depences D'une Entreprise qu'on y feroient; D'abord, Il y á peu, ou point D'argent, le tabac et[76] l'objet principal de leurs Comerce, et de cet article mem n'y trouveroit on pas Conssiderablement, puisque les Vaisseaux peuvent l'allér prendre Chez les habitants dans les Differentte parties de la province, par le moyen des riviérres naviguable qui y Sonts en grand Nombre, ainsi que dans le maryland, Ce qui fait, qu'il ny'á pas D'Entrepot general ny de ville Conssiderable, Dans les deux provinces; par ce que Je vien de dire, Il paroit que Cet Endroit n'est pas un objet oü l'on puisse satisfaire á l'interest.

Si l'on y alloit dans le Desin D'y faire du Degat, rien de plus facille, puisque, Comme j'ai Déja observé, Il y[a] point de fortification, et qu'on peut aller moullér á une portté de pistolet de la ville, ou s'il Convenoit mieux dans la baye sous le Cap henry, faire Dessendre son mond et marchér a la ville qui en est a 4 ou 5 lieux au plus, on auroit pour lors a Ce garder des Embuches parcequ'il faut traverssér des Bois, ou Il y a un grand Chemain bien pratiquable. la Costte depuis le Cap Jusqu'a la ville est propre a la Dessentte et on trouve toujours des pilots aux Environs Du Cap.

En tems de guerre, les vaisseaux qui Chargent de tabac dans les deux provinces de virginie Et maryland s'assemblent Dans les Mois de [avril et d'octobre][77] ou Dans la riviérre De York vis a vis de la ville qui porte Son Nom, ou Devant la Ville de Hampton sur la riviérre de James, plus Comunement Ici par[c]eque les Bureaux y Sonts ou Ils S'Expedients. l'on m'assure avoir vue Ici, en pareille Cas, 100 Voille ou Vaisseaux pret a mêttre a la voille. Ils Se tienent enssemble pour Etre En etat de se Defendre des Corssaires.

[75] Des plus beaux.

[76] Est.

[77] In another handwriting.

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puisque Cette Ville de Norfolk est la plus Comercentte Et Conssiderable on peut juger des Autres, des quelles Sonts Wiiliamsburg qui est la Capitalle Cependant de peu de Concequence Excepté dans le tems de leurs assemblées general qui s'y tienent deux fois l'anné Scavoir, l'une Commence le 10 avril et tient 24 Jours, l'autre le 10 8bre et tient Egalement 24 Jours.[78] dans Ces tems Il s'y rend beaucoup de monde, mais dans d'autre C'Est bien peu de Chose. Il y a encore les villes de York, NewCastle, petersburg, frederickburg, port Royal et quelques autres, mais qui Sonts moindre, les Uns que les autres.

le Maryland, a Cet Egard, est Comme la virginie, anopolis En est la Capitalle; elle est sur la riviérre severn, a gauche En y entrant, sans Canons sans auqu'un Defence, de trés facille accés, l'on y peut aler sans pilots, Elle est peu Conssiderable. apres Celle ci est baltimore qui est apeu pres dans le mem Cas. il y á aussi alexandrie sur la riviérre Patowmac, ou l'amiral Bradock C'Est retiré aprés sa Defaitte En Canada, avec son Esquadre.[79] Deux Fregattes de 36 Canons sonts en etat de prendre toutte Ces villes, et les mettre á Contribution, s'Entand en les surprennant. Je ne Scai mem Si une Seulle ne le feroit pas. Il faudroit dans Ces ocasions De l'Expedition Car il y á ordinairement Des fregattes et Vaiss'x De guerre sur la Costte et les Chemins sonts beau dans le pays, les Exprés y vonts vitte, la Flotte qui s'assemble Entems de guérre a York où Devant Hampton, est ce qui merit le plus d'atention Dans Ces deux provinces.

Il n'en est pas de mem de Philadelphia, Capitalle de la Penssilvanie. Cette Ville est Conssiderable, elle est Eloigné de la mer de 50 lieux, s'Entend de l'Embouchure de la riviérre Delaware, la navigation de Cette riviérre est Difficille, mais Il y a de Bon pilots á Lewis town,[80] (petitte Ville qui est á l'Entrée, a 3 milles du Cap henlopen) qui Sonts toujours prêts á allér abord des Batiments qui paroissent avec un yak a la têtte Du mast du petit peroquet.[81] quand les Vents sonts bon, pour monter la riviérre, on se rend a la Ville en 24 heurs, quand Ils Sonts Contraire l'on s'y rend par le moyen des marrés, qui Sonts forttes dans Cette Baye. a l'Ex[t]remitté Du Sud de la Ville Il y a une baterie qui est presqu'abondonné; Il peut y avoir 24 Cannons en fort mauvaise Etatt. l'on a bien tot passé Cette baterie et quand on est par le travers du milieux de la Ville on est hors De Sa porté. la riviere de Sculkill passe Derriére la Ville et tombe dans la baye a une lieux au deSous. rien de plus facille que D'Envoyér Des Chaloupes dans Cette riviérre, debarquér Du monde pour prendre la Ville par deriérre, pendant que les Vaisseaux atireroient l'attention Des habitants dans l'autre Extremitté. Ce Debarquement Doit Ce faire de nuit; pour Cet Efet on peut laisser Un Batiment, avec le monde qui y est Destinné, a l'Embouchure de la Dite riviérre Et au Comencement Du flot (Car ils auronts une bonne lieux a faire de l'Embouchure, a l'Endroit Du debarquement pour avoir le moin de Chemin a faire par térre qui est ⅓ de lieux) Envoyér les Chaloupes avec le monde, on ne seras pas Embarrassé pour trouvér Des Endroits Commode pour mêttre pied attérre et y estant Il est facille d'En avertir les Vaisseaux par le moyen de quelque fusée Envoyé en l'air.

78 All erroneous; there was no such regularity.

79 Attention has already been called to this error in note 1, above.

80 Lewes, Del.

81 With a jack (or union jack) at the foretopgallantmast.

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si on ne veut pas faire le Debarquement Come Je vient De Dire; on peut le faire Du Cotté de la Baye, ou les Vaisseaux peuvent le Couvrire. en ce Cas Je[il] faut le faire a une Des Extremitté De la Ville. l'Extremitté du nord me paroit le plus propre Car il ny á point de fortification a Craindre, et le terain y est propre, au lieu qu'au Centre de la Ville et jusqu'aux Extremittés Ce ne Sonts que quays, aupres des quels il y á toujours des Batiments, qui le rendroit Difficille. Si on peut faire Cet Expedition sans Etre Decouvert, Je pense que 1200 homes pouroient y reussire, mais Il faut de la Suprise autrement Il faud[r]oit un bien plus grand Nombre. Car on peut assembler beaucoup de monde dans Cette Ville et les Environs en peu de tems. Il seroit inutil de Debarquer ailleurs qu'a la Ville; Car on trouveroit dans les riviérres Des obstacles sans fin et insurmontable, on ne peut les passer qu'en batteau et elles sonts en grand nombre.

ayant fait Ce qu'on Ce Seroit proposé a filadelphia, Il y á la Ville de New Castle Sur le mem Cotté de la riviérre, Environs 10 lieux plus bas, qui est la plus Conssiderable aprés la Capittalle. l'on voit la position de Cet Endro[i]t D'abord. elle est ainssi que les autres sans Defence. Il y á Environs 500 maisons. Il y á ordinairement une ou deux fregattes mouil'é Ici Devant, pour Visitér les Batiments qui sortent et qui Entrent.

Venons apresent a la Nouvelle York, Capitalle de la province du mem nom. l'on ne rencontre pas les memes Difficulttées pour Ce rendre a Cette Ville, Il faut neanmoins avoir recours aux pilots, que l'on trouve Ici Comme ailleurs; quand on est passé les narows, qui Veut Dire les Etroits, Il n'y á plus rien a Craindre, Jusqu'a la Ville, qui est Eloigné de l'Embouchure Environs 8 lieux. la fortification (Dont on trouveras la Description dans le journal) Est dans le S. O. de la ville, et le port est dans l'Est, dans le Canal qui passe Entre l'isIle longue et la Ville, les anglais apelent Ce Canal East river. Ici Ils onts leurs Chentiers, tous les Batiments mouilent Ici. pour Entrer dans Ce port par la passe ordinaire on est obligé de passé devant le fort mais Cest bientot fait avec un bon vent De la partie Du Sud-Est jusqu'au ouest D'autant mieux que la passe est belle. Estant Dans le port on Est maitre de la Ville, puisqu'on peut l'abatre En peu de tems, ou faire Debarquér son monde dans les Differenttes rues. Si on ne veut pas s'Exposer a passer Devant la baterie on peut prendre possession D'une Isll qui est a l'Entrée et Dans le milieux de Ce Canal qui fait le port, et y Dessendre Du Cannon pour battre la Ville Et la fortification. Deriérre Cette Isll, entre elle et l'isll longue, Il y a une autre passe pour Des moyen batiments. Dans Cette passe on peut Envoyér le monde du Debarquem't dans les Vaisseaux de transport ou mem Dans les Chaloupes et faire la dessentte que l'on Couvriras Du Cannons sur l'islet.

pour faire des Expeditions dans Ce pays, Il faut bien ce provisioner de munitions de guérre, Car on ny en trouve pas. quelques Cannons de Campagne, seroient fort apropos.

Si on vouloit faire la Conquest Du pays Il seroit Essenciel De s'Emparér De l'isll longue, Car outre qu'on y trouveroit Des provisions de toutte Especes, Il y á de fort bon Cheveaux pour montér la Cavalerie.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte: Versuch einer Geschichte der Menschheit von den Aeltesten Tagen bis zur Gegenwart. Von CHARLES RICHET. In two volumes. (Munich and Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik. 1920. Pp. xiii, 292; x, 293–707.)

CHARLES RICHET, professor of physiology in the University of Paris, an ardent internationalist as well as a famous scientist, was actively engaged just before the war in promoting friendly relations between Germany and France in the vain hope of warding off the conflict which then threatened and which finally came to pass. Thinking, with Herbart, that "History should be the teacher of mankind", he had already written this sketch of universal history which was ready for publication when the outbreak of the war intervened. In 1918 the first German edition appeared, and now the second is printed. The author is aware that his book, in order to be intelligible to the average reader, must necessarily be inadequate and incomplete in many respects; but he justifies the attempt to survey the history of mankind as a whole on the ground that at least some conclusions may be drawn which will be of practical value in the present distressed state of the world.

The purpose of the book is therefore much the same as that of Mr. Wells's *Outline of History*. Its object is to determine from a study of the past what it is that contributes to human progress. But whereas Wells finds that progress is dependent upon the development of science, the religion of righteousness, and a world polity, Richet makes little of religion and politics as such, but lays all the stress upon science—science, that is, in the broad sense of the advancement of knowledge and understanding. It is only through the increase of human intelligence that progress can come; give us intelligence and all other things will be added. The thesis of the book is thus to show that the world moves, through the development of scientific knowledge, away from tyranny, provincialism, and conflict toward freedom, peace, and universal brotherhood. The prehistoric period is disposed of in short space, and the sketch really begins with the Greeks because "Griechenland ist recht eigentlich die Lehrmeisterin des Menschengeschlechts gewesen." The first volume brings us down to the French Revolution. The eighteenth century marks indeed a new era, since it was in the eighteenth century that science began to make those conquests which have so largely determined the character of modern civilization. "Das 18. Jahrhundert ging ruhmvoll zur Neige! Amerika

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war frei und die Bastille gestürmt, die Materie aber sollte von nun an die Dienerin des Menschengeistes werden!"

Unlike Mr. Wells, who regards the modern period as a relapse into egoistic striving, Richet thinks of the nineteenth century as the period of greatest progress. He therefore devotes the entire second volume to the period since 1789, which he characteristically entitles "Die Herrschaft der Wissenschaft"; and of this volume practically one-half is devoted to the developments in science, invention, and the mechanic arts. These are the events of true historical importance; and in them we may see the fulfillment of the prophetic words of Lamartine: "Enlightenment makes the whole world one." In spite of all wars, the increase of knowledge is creating a common point of view, a universal *Weltanschauung*.

Was aber die Zukunft angeht, so glauben wir . . . dass einzig und allein die Wissenschaft, indem sie die Materie bändigt und, so gut es eben geht, einige der in den Dingen verborgenen Geheimnisse erklärt, Leib und Geist des Menschen befreien und den Seelen jene beiden Grundbegriffe einprägen wird, die sich niemals voneinander trennen lassen: Gemeinschaftsgeist und Gerechtigheit.

So thought Richet in 1914; and so he still thinks, even after this most devastating and desolating of wars, in which the "right triumphed" with much the same result as if "evil had been victorious". In spite of all, this humane and valiant scholar keeps his faith in human intelligence. When everything has collapsed, even human intelligence, what else indeed is there left to have faith in?

C. B.

Modern Democracies. By Viscount Bryce. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 508; 676. $10.50.)

In 1862 a newly elected fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, barely turned twenty-four, published a book which won the instant commendation of scholars, and took a place in historical literature from which three-score years of research and writing have not dislodged it. The capacity for penetrating, dispassionate, fruitful interpretation of institutions which the author of the *Holy Roman Empire* thus early displayed was freshly evidenced in *The American Commonwealth*, published in 1888, and in *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, which saw the light in 1901. It is revealed in its full scope and vigor, however, only in *Modern Democracies*, a work which sounds the depths and scales the heights of political science, in the broadest meaning of the term, and brings together in orderly array such data and conclusions as only a lifetime of observation by a master observer could possibly achieve.

Lord Bryce tells us that the idea of writing such a book came to him, "many years ago", at a time when schemes of political reform

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were being widely discussed in England, "mostly on general principles, but also with references, usually vague and disconnected, to history and to events happening in other countries". One is left to surmise that the discussions referred to were those prompted by the Lloyd George budget of 1909, and the ensuing movement for upper-chamber reform. At all events, it seemed to the author that someone ought to provide a more solid basis for argument and judgment by making comparative studies, such as, curiously, had never been systematically made, of the actual workings, the virtues and the defects, of popular government the world over. Cheerfully assuming this stupendous task, the veteran scholar revisited Switzerland, France, and other European states, betook himself to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Latin America, and availed himself of extensive opportunities, both as a diplomat and as a private sojourner, to make a fresh analysis of the political phenomena of the United States. The observations were made, and the book was partly written, before 1914. Interruptions caused by the war delayed publication, however, until the present year.

The plan of the work requires some explanation. The object, in the author's own words, is

> to present a general view of the phenomena hitherto observed in governments of a popular type, showing what are the principal forms that type has taken, the tendencies each form has developed, the progress achieved in creating institutional machinery, and, above all—for this is the ultimate test of excellence—what democracy has accomplished or failed to accomplish, as compared with other kinds of government, for the well-being of each people.

The book is thus meant to be of a very practical nature. Political theory is dealt with only incidentally; Lord Bryce's own political theory, hardly at all. There is, likewise, little history, no economics, and only so much description of governmental machinery as is necessary to a discussion of the results attained. The matter of concern is the phenomena of democracy, not its theoretic basis or its historical development or its social implications.

The work falls into three main parts. The first, devoted to "considerations applicable to democratic government in general", treats in fifteen chapters of liberty, equality, party, local self-government, public opinion, and several other concepts and relationships which go to make up the somewhat intangible thing commonly called democracy. The second, and main, part deals with certain democracies, one by one, in their actual workings. Of forty-two chapters here, one points out the salient aspects of the republics of antiquity, and another similarly describes the republics of Latin America. The remaining forty are divided about equally among the six democracies most thoroughly studied, *i.e.*, France, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. The third part of the work, arranged in twenty-three chapters, examines and criticizes democratic institutions in the

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light of the facts presented in the preceding part, comments on certain phenomena which influence the workings of democracy everywhere, and brings together the author's final reflections on the present and future of democratic government.

One great democracy, it will be observed, is left untouched, namely, the United Kingdom. It is easy to understand the author's feeling that no citizen of Britain, and "certainly no citizen who has himself taken a part in politics as a member, during forty years, of legislatures and cabinets", can expect to be credited with impartiality as a critic of the British governmental system. Yet one must regret that this chance has passed for British political phenomena to be appraised on the same basis as the phenomena of other lands, and by the scholar who probably understands them beyond all other men. It is to be noted, too, that the author's plan does not require him to pay much attention to governmental reconstruction during and since the war. It is not current politics, but democracy as a form of government, that he seeks to describe; the abnormalities of wartime would only blur the picture. Still less, of course, would it serve his purpose to take notice of the new and uncertain democracies of Teutonic and Slavic Europe.

Space forbids an attempt to summarize the author's descriptions of democracy, or even the conclusions at which he arrives concerning its multifold phenomena. American students will be interested chiefly in two things: first, the estimate placed upon the democracy of the United States now as compared with that placed upon it in 1888, and, second, the conclusions reached regarding the future of democracy as a political device or form. In connection with the first point, it is important to observe that the eight chapters devoted to the United States are not an abridgement of *The American Commonwealth,* but form, rather, a new and independent study. A reading of them discloses, however, that the conclusions of thirty years ago are, in the main, the conclusions of to-day. Party politics, though improved, still abounds in abuses; the state legislatures do not enjoy the confidence of the people; direct government has been increased, but in some undesirable directions, *e.g.,* the recall; the administration of civil justice leaves much to be desired, that of criminal justice is "far worse"; the spoils system has been curbed, but not eradicated; Americans still "admit" that government of cities is the "one conspicuous failure" of their political system; the number of men of brilliant gifts in public life is "less than might be expected in a country where talent abounds and the issues before the nation are profoundly important".

From a penetrating and altogether delightful discussion of the future of democracy in general, one gleans four main ideas: The first is that there is no warrant for assuming that democracy is the final form of government; if history teaches anything, it is that finality is to be expected of no human institution, political or otherwise. The second thought is that a score of easily possible developments in human tastes

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and interests might produce in any land, or even in the world at large, an era of political stagnation and dissolution such as lasted for a thousand years after the extinction of republicanism at Rome. A third point is that the question of the permanence of democracy "resolves itself into the question of whether mankind is growing in wisdom and virtue", since no free government ever lived and throve except as it was upheld by the sanctions of morality and religion. And the fourth idea, with which the book closes, is that, notwithstanding the uncertainties of human progress, heightened as they have been by the experiences of the past seven years, there is still fair ground for hope that regard for the forces that are unseen and eternal will long keep alive the spirit which self-government requires.

FREDERIC A. OGG.

The New Stone Age in Northern Europe. By JOHN M. TYLER, Professor Emeritus of Biology, Amherst College. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. xviii, 310. $3.00.)

THE volume at hand has evidently been intended as a continuation of Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age.* It has the advantage of having been written by an able, conscientious, experienced, and well-read teacher, but has the disadvantage of dealing with a subject which has not been the life specialty of the author and in which he is obliged to depend almost wholly on the writings and opinions of other men. The result is an excellent book in parts, but one which includes some of the errors and fallacies of different previous writers, which at times weaken and modify the author's perspective.

The best portions of the volume are those that deal with what is expressed by the title, namely, the new stone age in northern Europe; but the author was not able to restrict himself to this subject, and by extension to the rest of Europe and western Asia has run into a field that is still full of uncertainties and opinions rather than determinations.

The book is written essentially for "the eager young student who may glance over these pages, feel the allurement of some topic and resolve to know more about it. . . . The bibliography is prepared especially for him . . . it is anything but complete". All of which is modest and surpassed, for in fact the book is in many respects a creditable attempt to present to the student in a succinct and easily digestible way the still very imperfect and difficult story of our race since the end of the glacial period, to which is added a bibliography of nearly 400 items.

The book is divided into twelve sections, which deal respectively with: the Coming of Man; the Period of Transition—Shell Heaps; Land Habitations; Lake Dwellings; a Glance Eastward; Megaliths; Neolithic Industries; Neolithic Chronology; Neolithic Peoples and

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their Migrations; Neolithic Religion; Progress; the Coming of the Indo-Europeans.

Chapters 2–4 and 6–8 are well written, and if they embody any deficiencies they are those of our knowledge. Chapter 1, dealing with the earlier stages of Man, is weak, even for the scope of a work of this nature. Chapter 5 and especially chapter 9, together with places in the remaining sections, suffer seriously from the inclusion of unproven and at times unwarranted hypotheses.

In common with the speculative tendency of some modern authors, the author attaches undue ethnogenetic weight to central Asia and to the "Iranian Plateau". He would derive a great deal of what was European during a large part of the Neolithic epoch from this plateau and other parts of western Asia, and this not merely in arts or customs but also in actual population. That many of the cultural influences have, during the Neolithic period, extended northward from the Mediterranean and westward from Iran and the neighboring regions, is partly known and can readily be accepted; but that the spread of such influences from the Iranian territories westward and southward was attended by migrations of peoples in the same directions, is as yet unfounded. Some incursions from these regions, as during historic times, were quite possible; but there is no evidence in the physique of the European nations that any important masses of population came thus at any time into central or western Europe. That there were many movements of population within Europe itself, during the Neolithic and especially later periods, is certain; but these streams, according to the best present evidence, were European and not Asiatic, or but secondarily Asiatic. Western Asia, together with the eastern Mediterranean regions, may well have been the cradle of cultures; but our best evidence now points to the fact that it was Europe which, outside of perhaps the earliest human forms, was essentially the cradle of humanity.

A few of the unwarrantable statements, which the author does not merely quote but fathers, are as follows: On page 183, speaking about the region in which man probably originated, he says:

> We vaguely located this Asiatic cradle somewhere westward or northwestward of the great plateau of Thibet. We may call it the Iranian plateau, using the term in the broadest possible sense, including Afghanistan and perhaps western Turkestan: a great area extending more than 1000 miles from northwest to southeast [?], where it sinks into the valley of the Euphrates.

It may suffice to say that we have not an iota of evidence, or in fact even of probability, that any anthropoid apes or early man have ever lived in any part of this territory. And following:

> We found a branch of the great Negroid race starting very early from this region and migrating westward past Arabia into Africa. . . . The Hamitic and Semitic peoples naturally followed the same route. . . . We may venture to guess that Neanderthal man may have fol-

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lowed it long before the beginning of the Hamitic-Semitic migrations (p. 184).

All of which are mere speculations by former authors, and, so far as the "Negroid" element is concerned, a wholly incongruous and impossible speculation.

There is quite a series of such adoptions as those above, which is unfortunate, for they destroy much of the value of the book for the non-expert student, who will not be able to separate mere fancies from deductions based on substantial facts. It also points to the unavoidable penalty to workers in other lines who will take anthropology for the good horse of old who could be ridden at pleasure.

The last chapter of the book—that on the Coming of the Indo-European—the author himself characterizes most fittingly as one "of uncertainties". It is indeed full of the uncertain, which is not helped by the rather strained speculation. A simple enumeration of the various theories, with a concise pointing-out of what in the light of our knowledge to-day is in their favor or disfavor, would have been more helpful to the student, who it seems was in these latter parts of the book somewhat forgotten. But there is one relief upon finishing the volume, and that doubly felt for a book published by Scribners—the author has evidently escaped, and spares the reader, the nauseous "Nordic" infection.

A Short History of Antioch, 360 B. C.–A. D. 1268. By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1921. Pp. xii, 323. 12s. 6d.)

In this modest volume Mr. Bouchier supplements his *Syria as a Roman Province* by an intensive study of the city of Antioch. His sketch covers fifteen and a half centuries, from the founding of the town in 300 B.C., by Alexander's greatest general, Seleucus Nicator, till its devastation by a barbarian army in 1268, in the twilight of the crusading period. Built thirty years after Alexandria, it retained its importance long after its Egyptian rival had been completely overshadowed by Cairo. The author shows us that throughout this long period Antioch was "essentially a bulwark of European civilization, submerged for longer or shorter intervals, but predominantly western in its culture and sympathies, and correspondingly hated by the peoples of the interior, who again and again sought to weaken and devastate it" (p. x). In spite of "the almost complete absence not only of inscriptions but of a continuous history of the [Seleucidian] period" (p. 41), the author is able from the sources available to indicate the trend of events from the early days of absolute monarchy to the last part of the period, when the town "had approximated to the position of an ordinary Greek city-state of the early type, ruled by its own senate and locally elected magistrates" (p. 87). As an example of

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Mr. Bouchier's lively style, we may quote from his sketch of the infamous Antiochus Epiphanes, sixth in the line from the founder—a despot whose bizarre character foreshadowed that of the caliph Al-Hâkim:

> This extraordinary prince, with his mass of contradictory qualities, Oriental tyrant and republican Greek, low buffoon and lover of the finest art, fierce persecutor and gracious master, with his yearning for unity in government and religion . . . may be called a second founder of Antioch, to which he gave an impress that subsequent ages have not altogether effaced (p. 31).

Pompey, who in his campaign of Eastern conquest visited Antioch in 64 B.C., recognized its claims to local autonomy, but placed its military protection in the hands of the Roman governor. The period of the early Empire is covered in chapter IV. Antioch can boast of visits from Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Titus—to whom the populace gave a splendid reception at the close of the Jewish War—Trajan, Hadrian, Severus, Caracalla, Aurelian—who placed on exhibition his chained captive, Zenobia—and Diocletian. Many readers will find especial attraction in chapter VI., where it is emphasized that Antioch rather than Jerusalem should be regarded as the mother of churches in Asia Minor and Europe, for "it was the Antiochenes who first insisted on discarding the trammels of the Mosaic law", while the position of the city on the highroad to Asia Minor made it the natural starting-point for the various missionary journeys. Sketches are given of persons prominent in the ecclesiastical history of Antioch, such as Paul of Samosata, Lucian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the great John Chrysostom.

With the Arab conquest Antioch entered into a period of eclipse which lasted for over 300 years, when, as a result of the victories of the Byzantine Peter Phocas (969 A.D.), it once more became a Roman provincial capital. This status it retained till 1081, when it fell under the power of the Seljuk Turks, who, after a brief rule, yielded to the armies of the Crusaders. The last two chapters give an interesting account of Antioch as the centre of a Frankish principality, from the time of its capture to its unhappy end. The writer touches on the rule of its princes, the conditions under which their subjects lived, the laws, commercial activities, etc. An appendix of nineteen pages deals with the coinage of the city. A list of authorities is given at the end of some, but not all, of the chapters.

FREDERICK J. BLISS.

Cicero: a Biography. By TORSTEN PETERSSON. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1920. Pp. 699. $5.00.)

A NEW biography of Cicero, the fifth within the last quarter-century, attests the unflagging interest felt by the present generation in the

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Roman orator and statesman. Our interest in him is not hard to understand. As he himself said, when urging a literary friend to write a sketch of his career, his life had all the elements of a drama, with its vigorous action, its clearly marked episodes, and, as he then thought, a happy outcome of a tragic situation. He played a leading rôle, too, in a great political drama. But this is only one side of his life. He was also a philosopher, an orator, a poet, a man of the world, and, above all, a writer of letters in which he has set down his intimate impressions of men and things and revealed his weaknesses, as well as his points of strength, to the delight of the discerning and the despair of the prosaic. This freedom from hypocrisy and the Latin volatility of character which gives rise to apparent inconsistency in his words and actions make the writing of his biography a difficult matter, unless one is a Boissier or has the Celtic temperament of a Tyrrell. The test of a biographer's ability to understand the personal character and the political policy of Cicero is to be found in his treatment of three episodes in Cicero's career: the period of abject depression which followed his banishment, his hesitation and final adherence to Pompey in 49, and his prompt defiance of Antony after Caesar's death. Petersson's book comes successfully through this test, and the honesty and sanity of judgment which one finds in the discussion of these three incidents characterize the whole work and constitute one of its principal merits. Its other distinguishing features are its attempt, in large measure successful, to present fully all sides of Cicero's life, and to furnish us with its historic setting. As we have already intimated, the orator's life was episodic to a marked degree. It falls into such natural chapters as the proconsulship in Cilicia, the Civil War, the death of Tullia, and the composition of Cicero's philosophical works. And Petersson has taken advantage of this fact to adopt the topical method of treatment, while still observing the chronological order. Among these topics we miss an adequate discussion of the historical and literary importance of the *Letters*, comparable to the chapters on the rhetorical and philosophical works. A more fundamental study of Cicero's year in Cilicia would have been of value, as well as a fuller treatment of his relations to the members of his family and to the young Caesarians. In determining the actual attitude of Caesar and Pompey toward the question of Cicero's banishment, an examination of the legal steps finally taken by Clodius in securing his adoption into a plebeian family would have been helpful; and the author's opinion of Pompey's withdrawal from Italy and of Cicero's criticism of it would have been interesting. The reviewer is inclined to think also that more evidence than is mentioned could have been brought to bear on the interesting question of Cicero's political sympathies before 63. The author shows a thorough familiarity with the sources and with modern studies of his subject. This comes out clearly, for instance, in the analysis which he makes

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(pp. 480 ff.) of the apparently conflicting accounts which Caesar, Cicero, Plutarch, and others give of the events of January, 49 B.C. It is doubtful, however, if the date assigned to the important letter to Basilus (pp. 515, 592) can be accepted. In his treatment of the sources the author's remarks on the considerations which Cicero mentions in his letters to Atticus as influencing his action (p. 10), and on the changes made in a speech for publication (pp. 90 ff.), are of great importance and have usually escaped attention. The style is clear and direct, and this book probably gives one a more complete and trustworthy estimate of the public career and private life of Cicero than any other biography which we have.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums. Von EDUARD MEYER. In drei Bänden. Band I., *Die Evangelien.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1921. Pp. xii, 340. M. 38.)

HAVING brought his *Geschichte des Altertums* down to the death of Caesar, Eduard Meyer defers his story of the Roman Empire until he has completed an account of the sources and beginnings of Christianity. For this, three volumes are planned. The first, now before us, is a critical examination of the gospel. The second will preface the account of the career of Jesus of Nazareth by a study of Judaism after the beginning of Persian rule and the influence of Zoroastrian religion. In view of Meyer's great reputation, his erudition and critical acumen, his synoptic mind, his clear, forceful style, and artistic power of presentation, this undertaking must win favor with all students of history.

The historical criticism of the gospel sources is not expounded in the conventional manner of treatises on that subject, but follows Meyer's own method of approach to the matter. In his historical seminar he had examined the Book of Acts, which he regards as one of the most important works of history preserved from antiquity, and the examination at once showed that the Acts and Luke's gospel were two parts of one work, the gospel narrative of the resurrection being a mere torso without the continuation. This initial theme involved a comparison with the resurrection narratives in the other gospels, and a consideration of the chronological data of Luke. We then begin with the stories of birth, childhood, baptism, and temptation. Recognizing then the importance of Mark as a source for Luke, we are led into a discussion of the contents and sources of Mark, and an examination of the manner in which Matthew and Luke go beyond this earlier document. We then revert to Luke's gospel to see that it aims at an authentic, chronologically exact, and orderly history of Jesus, being the work of an able, reflective historian in sharp contrast to the free and unhistorical construction of the fourth gospel. This order reflects the procedure of a seminar director

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feeling his way into the subject, and it is an order serviceable and interesting to the reader.

Such a criticism of sources had to be made before Meyer could proceed to the constructive account of Christian origins, and no one will fail to be grateful for an exposition of this sort done by an eminent historian who is independent of all theological party views and possessed of a sane and balanced critical judgment. The reader has a guaranty against any rash and eccentric conclusions. Meyer is indeed conscious of his own merits and makes many depreciatory allusions to "theological critics". It must be said, however, that Meyer's work is no novelty, but rather a wholesome digestion of the results of the large concerted labors of theological critics, and the theologians may properly ask whether his independent publication is justified by any discoveries that advanced knowledge to a new point. Apart from the benefit of Meyer's good judgment on debated details, it must be said that the only notable contribution made by him is an effort to identify literary sources used by Mark, and this is the content of a single chapter. Other scholars have detected the fact of such literary sources, and from Wendling and from Bacon we have elaborate and subtle resolutions of Mark into sources. Meyer ignores these prior efforts and by a somewhat hasty and incomplete examination of certain passages proves, as he thinks, a Disciple Source (in two variant forms) and a Twelve Source. This seems to be a plausible conclusion, and one that may lead to important inferences.

In his rapid acquisition of this subject, Meyer felt no compulsion to master all that has been written. He seems to have made Wellhausen his point of departure, and to have consulted some recent contributions by others; but of Jülicher, Johannes Weiss, and Bousset he has scant knowledge—to his loss. His proposal to relate his subject to the general historical development, with attention to analogous religious phenomena in other historical currents, will startle no one among the "theological critics" of the present day.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires. Par HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, S.J., Bollandiste. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 1921. Pp. viii, 447.)

FATHER DELEHAYE has given us in this volume one of these intimate studies, that is not possible to a young historian, however brilliant. It is a work that could only be the outgrowth and mature fruit of long years of careful cultivation of his chosen field, early hagiography. Here he confines himself to the literature of the martyrs, to the passions, or, as they are misleadingly called, the acts of the martyrs, and certain al-

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lied writings. He does not attempt a full survey of this immense literature; he gives nevertheless a very extensive treatment of it, but above all he makes a very accurate delineation of its character and spirit.

In form, this work is an essay in literary classification; in substance and intent, it is an inquiry into the historical worth of the writings it studies. He finds the key to the problem in the distinction of literary *genres*. Through ignorance or neglect of the key, historians have seriously debated the historical worth of a narrative that is in reality a bit of romance or epic poetry. It is not a matter of mere outward form, for history and fiction may wear the same kind of garb; the characteristics must be seized, and truth has characteristics which the fiction of the simple-minded authors of passions could not successfully imitate.

Our author disdains a minute classification of this literature as vain and confusing. He distinguishes four main classes, or *genres*: First, there are the historical passions, written by contemporaries and eye-witnesses, sometimes even embodying narratives by the martyrs themselves. Next, there are the panegyrics of the martyrs by the great Christian orators of the fourth century, which, while historical in part, are highly rhetorical, in accordance with the rules laid down by the rhetoricians of their day. Then follow the two classes of "artificial", or unhistorical passions, which are the product of authors who came after the age of the martyrs—first, and by far most important, the epic passion, and secondly, the romantic, with its division into the romance of adventure, the idyllic romance, and the didactic romance. In the passions are related only the legal trial, the sufferings, and the death of the martyrs; but curiosity about their early career was often gratified by a little "life before martyrdom", from the pen of an obliging Parson Weems of the period. This exhausts Father Delehaye's scheme of classification; outside of it is a mass of writings of formless character, *les genres mixtes*.

It would be a begging of the question to separate a group of these writings as historical unless the author vindicated the title by a careful study of their character. This is ably done for several of the best-known passions. While it is always difficult to prove the veracity of a narrative, these documents have a naturalness and variety of character and event, a consistency, an evident sincerity, and an ability to withstand attack, which show them to be the very reflection of life. The few critics who dissent from this judgment are handled vigorously by our Bollandist, even with a touch of disdain. It is gratifying, however, to note the large amount of agreement among critics who are poles apart theologically. Indeed, Father Delehaye shows himself at times a more exacting critic than a Gebhardt or a Harnack.

The study of the epic passion is illuminating. For centuries it was the favorite reading of Europe, as the vast number of manuscripts

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attests, and almost completely crowded out the historical passions. The title is well chosen, for the narrative is a bit of epic poetry in prose. The martyr resembles a hero or god of epic poetry, but unluckily found no genius to immortalize him. He appears as the champion of God, contending with the powers of darkness and generally confronting in person the emperor, who is invariably depicted as a cruel and bloodthirsty tyrant. The martyr is almost a supernatural being. He endures heroically a long series of torments, sufficient to inflict many deaths. He is miraculously preserved through them all, and, indeed, has at command supernatural power, for the confusion of the idolater. He is learned and eloquent, bold and denunciatory, not to say impudent. At last, he suffers martyrdom. Occasionally a romantic author called him back to life to endure more torments for the edification of his readers.

The origin of these various forms of literature is discussed by the author with originality and acuteness; but this belongs rather to the province of patrology, as likewise the fine study of the panegyrics. For the historical student, the detailed study of documents makes the work almost a laboratory manual or record of experiments in historical criticism, from which, apart altogether from the subject of inquiry, even experienced investigators can learn to improve their methods. In spite of great learning, the author is not bookish; and he has robust good sense, for all his acuteness. He inveighs against the superstitious regard of scholars for documents, and he certainly cannot be accused of too great tenderness himself. Like a literary Caligula, but more powerful in his own realm, Father Delehaye gave all the fictitious passions but one head, and then neatly and remorselessly severed it.

This work is, however, merely preliminary—a clearing of the ground for the laying of the foundation. It is an introduction to an introduction to the sources of martyrology and the history of the persecutions. It marks the lines along which the study of those sources must proceed. When this task is completed we may hope to see a competent historian, perhaps Fr. Delehaye himself, give us the long-desired history of the early Christian martyrs.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne. Par LOUIS HALPHEN. Professeur adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1921. Pp. viii, 314. 14 fr.)

IT is a surprising fact that, notwithstanding the great interest and importance of the subject, and the prodigious industry which has been expended upon the collection, criticism, and publication of the sources, there is still no adequate history of the reign of Charles the Great. It is the task of filling this void which M. Halphen has set himself, but the volume now under review is not in itself designed to fill it. It is rather a series of preliminary studies; and we shall doubtless have to wait

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some time for the more comprehensive work on "Charlemagne et la Civilisation Carolingienne" which the author has projected.

The present volume is made up of eight studies, all of which have already appeared in the *Revue Historique* (1917–1920). The first four deal with the criticism of the sources, and contain the most striking contribution of the book. Hitherto no one has been found to challenge the reputation of Einhard as the dominating figure in the historiography of the Carolingian epoch, and his *Vita Karoli* has long been accepted as the most important source for the history of Charlemagne and his reign. The *Royal Annals* (misnamed *Annales Lauressenses Maiores*) for the period down to about 788 have been held to be a mere compilation based on the so-called "little annals" (annals of St. Amand, of Murbach, of Lorsch, etc.); and these latter have been regarded as sources of independent value. The Monk of St. Gall, while known to be late, and hardly historical, has been thought to preserve "historical elements" derived from oral tradition. M. Halphen has attacked and overturned all of these accepted views. Einhard is remorselessly stripped of every shred of credit for the authorship of any historical work except the *Vita*; and the originality and unique merits of that work are sadly diminished. Einhard is shown not to have enjoyed such a position of prominence at the court, or of intimacy with Charlemagne, as to make him the possessor of secrets of government; it was only after the accession of Louis the Pious that he rose to official position and influence. The *Vita Karoli* was probably not written until about 830, after his retirement from public life. Almost one-third of it is taken directly from the *Royal Annals,* and the portions which appear to be original are relatively small and of doubtful reliability. Moreover, Einhard was exceedingly careless in the use of his sources, and he was often guilty of deliberate distortion or falsification. The *Royal Annals,* on the other hand, are the fundamental source for the history of Charlemagne, not only for the later years of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century (as has hitherto been supposed), but for the earlier period as well; for, far from being, down to 788, a mere compilation based on the "little annals," they are, at least from the year 768, an original, contemporary work, written down at frequent intervals, under the direct impression of the events which they record. And the "little annals", which have been supposed to be the source of the *Royal Annals,* are themselves derived from them. It required less courage to attack the Monk of St. Gall (his reputation has long been but a poor one), but it may be said without exaggeration that his standing among historians has now been utterly demolished.

Having solved the most perplexing problems of the sources, the author proceeds, in the last four chapters, to the heart of his subject-matter, and undertakes to throw new light upon the conquest of Saxony, the imperial coronation in the year 800, and the state of agriculture, industry,

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and commerce in the Carolingian Empire. Most notable here is the study of the imperial coronation. Respect for Einhard has led to the very general belief that Charlemagne was taken by surprise by that event, and that it was displeasing to him. Halphen's reversal of accepted ideas concerning the sources leads him to reject this manifestly unreasonable view entirely. The coronation on Christmas day marked the culmination of a carefully arranged programme for which no other than Charles himself could have been responsible. From the *Royal Annals* and the *Liber Pontificalis,* which agree closely and are the two most trustworthy sources, no one would be led to any other view of the matter; and Halphen has been able to trace the growth of the distorted version through the *Annales Laureshamenses* (803) and the *Annales Maximiniani* (811) to Einhard. It was put out in the course of the protracted negotiations to obtain recognition from Constantinople, as a means of soothing the injured feelings of the Byzantine court. The economic chapters are perhaps too sweeping in their condemnation of the views of Inama-Sternegg and Dopsch; but the author has certainly rendered a valuable service by his protest against the enthusiastic view that Charlemagne by his supreme wisdom and foresight wrought an economic revolution—a veritable renaissance of agriculture, industry, and commerce—and by drawing attention to the extreme meagreness of the sources which throw light upon economic conditions, and insisting that nothing is to be gained by the elaboration of unsupported hypotheses.

Altogether, this is a remarkable book, and it will doubtless exert a profound influence upon the future course of Carolingian studies.

C. W. DAVID.

Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales. Volume V. *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw.* Edited by F. M. STENTON, M.A., Professor of Modern History, University College, Reading. (London: Humphrey Milford, University Press. 1920. Pp. cxliv, 554. 31s. 6d.)

UNDER this title Professor Stenton has added to the published material available for the study of the Danelaw an important collection of twelfth-century charters, 556 in all, preserved with few exceptions in the British Museum and Public Record Office. They relate to lands held in the main by religious houses in the district once known generally as that of the Five Boroughs—Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland. They will be of great service in the study of the legal forms and procedure of the time, and of feudal matters. Mr. Stenton in his valuable introduction, as the title of the book indicates, regards them only from a third point of view—as sources of information regarding the social and economic arrangements within

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the Danelaw. Their evidence in this field is perhaps largely confirmatory of observations already made by Professor Stenton himself and other students of the district, but the additional facts they furnish are important in the chain of proof, and Mr. Stenton's interpretation is able and convincing; sometimes, as for example in the discussion of the obscure matter of the communal endowment of village churches, or of the difficult *utware,* it is also highly suggestive, throwing light into some very dark corners.

The charters show in general small holdings in the Danelaw. Except in Leicestershire, where a small virgate prevails, the normal tenement is reckoned in bovates, extending from a fraction of a bovate to two bovates in size, and the larger carucate unit is rarely mentioned. The stang is accepted as the northern acre, but not, as it happens, on the evidence of the single occurrence of the word in these charters, where it seems to indicate a smaller unit. Some correlation of the stang of the Danelaw with the eight-rood stang of the west discussed by Mr. G. J. Turner would have been of interest. The analysis of the charters yields some facts regarding the demesne. Mr. Stenton finds evidence of the evolution of the demesne in sokeland as of Scandinavian descent, where no interposition of Norman influence can be shown; he comments also on the important charter in the Kirkstead series (no. 202), where the demesne is defined as lying in *culture* (not in the smaller *seliones*) intermixed with the land of tenants, and on other indications of somewhat large stretches and compact blocks. The fact that a bovate of demesne land is named, however, does not perhaps necessarily "suggest that it was composed of adjacent acres". Like Mr. Gray, he finds the Lincolnshire evidence in favor of a two-field system, except in the fen villages, the frequent references to land on two sides of the vill seeming to establish this point incontestably.

Of equal interest with the discussion of the land system is that of the twelve-carucate hundred of Lincolnshire. Here again the charters furnish confirmation of what has been already observed. Mr. Stenton calls attention to the probable identity of the twelve-carucate vill with the hundred, finding evidence of forty-four such vills in Kesteven, thirteen in Holland. The partition of the fen by two double hundreds (of twenty-four carucates each) in South Holland confirms evidence of intercommoning of hundreds already presented in an earlier volume of the *Records.* The intercommoning of villages in the arable fields is very interesting if it can be substantiated, but the point is not clearly worked out. The importance of the village as the unit of social life in the Danelaw, rather than the manor, which is mentioned only twice, is constantly confirmed. In two cases Mr. Stenton believes that the *villata* even attests charters. In general, he sees a large peasant population, descendants of Domesday sokemen, with a fair proportion of Scandinavian personal names, with small alienable tenements, whose free status can

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be more definitely proven if, as seems not unlikely, the attesting of charters can be taken as evidence of freedom.

Professor Stenton's name is sufficient guarantee that the charters are admirably edited in a volume where form is of great importance. He has retained the punctuation, and accentuation, if it may so be called, of the original, but the use of capitals is modern. Syllables and letters indicated by a compendium in the manuscript in words concerning whose extension there can be reasonable doubt are printed in italic. The index is carefully compiled, although there is an occasional slip in a place-name. The Lincolnshire Oasby, for example, is not found under that form in the index. The notes on seals, especially those of peasants, are of much interest.

N. NEILSON.

Constitutional History of England. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor of History Emeritus, in Yale College. [American Historical Series.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1921. Pp. x, 518. $3.00.)

IN many ways this volume is an admirable example of what a text-book ought to be. All too often books designed for the instruction of readers, or for use in college classes, have been written either by authors who produced text-books only, or by others who did such writing previous to the research and prolonged study which only time can allow. Accordingly, not a few books of this sort have been without the richness of information and the depth of judgment, the power of interpretation and of stimulating the reader's understanding, of arresting his attention, of arousing his thought, of producing real impression, of making vital addition to his knowledge and mental development, which, above all others, books designed for students should have. Hence, many text-books have presented at their best only a well-ordered assemblage of data, accurate as to details, but devoid of real explanations of the meaning of things or of actual dealing with the problems involved.

The author of the volume reviewed here has spent the best years of a long life in historical writing and research. During the past generation he has made repeated and valuable contributions to the history of England and especially to the history of the English constitution. During this time also he has mastered the art of writing plainly and explaining difficult things. Now, when in these later years he turns to the writing of text-books on English constitutional history, he brings to his work, in addition to a considerable mastery of exposition for the novice, a wealth of knowledge, a solidity of learning, and a general competence, which the most skilful and accomplished beginner could not possibly have. In many respects writers of text-books can learn as much from the technique of this volume as students of con-

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stitutional history will be able to learn from its contents. There are not wanting numerous recondite details, but always they appear in proper place to illustrate some theme of importance. They are never assembled merely in laborious aggregation devoid of summary and of good interpretation. So truly has the author mastered his subject that he both understands the meaning of the matters he deals with and also realizes the difficulties adhering to them—an accomplishment rare in the ordinary composer of manuals for students. Difficulties are never avoided, and the meaning of the matter at hand is often set forth with that fine historical imagination which Maitland taught the present generation to admire. The book is for the most part written simply, clearly, and well.

There is an excellent brief account of Anglo-Saxon organization and government, after which the author proceeds to the Norman and Angevin, the "feudal" period, which has always been his particular field, and this, all in all, is the best part of the writing. These chapters are followed by an account of the Lancastrian and Yorkist periods—in the opinion of the reviewer the least good part of the book—and an account of the Tudor period, excellent, but not so good as what follows. The author then deals with the Stuart period, and the triumph of Parliament over king; with the eighteenth century, and the rise of cabinet government; with the nineteenth century, and extension of the franchise and of democratic government; and with the constitution of Great Britain at present. All of these chapters are excellent, so that the entire volume is maintained at a very high standard of goodness.

In respect to a work in so many ways so well done, the reviewer, at the same time that he doubts his competence to criticize certain portions, feels no little reluctance about making any strictures at all. In his opinion the validity of the work is in some places marred by a tendency to treat development rather from the point of view of the result than of the stages of the process itself, thus giving, for example, a disproportionate importance to Parliament in earlier times—the concomitant of this being that for the medieval and the Tudor periods, in the reviewer's opinion, the executive and especially the king's council have far less description than their relative importance requires. The development of Parliament in the fifteenth century is of highest moment in the light of all that followed, but Parliament was undoubtedly a small part of the English government then. There is admirable account of feudalism and parliamentary growth, but in large portions of the book there is comparatively slight treatment of the executive parts of the government, the wardrobe, the king's council, the privy council of Tudor times, the great executive departments of the eighteenth century and of the king's powers then, which remained considerable even in that period of their decline. In the reviewer's opinion, it would have been well if certain topics, as, for example, local government, had fuller treatment in more places. Finally, it would at least have been

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worth trying to give more complete pictures of the government at particular times, such as Maitland did so well in the *Constitutional History* published after his death.

RAYMOND TURNER.

The Evolution of Parliament. By A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xi, 398. $7.50.)

THE conviction that the entire history of Parliament must yet be rewritten was planted by Maitland's *Memoranda de Parliamento,* and to this purpose the fund of a fellowship was subsequently devoted, with the results that are now before us. The true line of evolution, it has been found, lay not in a system of estates, but in the king's court and council, which was considered to be sitting "in parliament" whenever it met as a high court of justice in an enlarged and formal session. At such a session of the council the presence of the "estates", as they came to be called, whether clergy, barons, or commons, was at first accessory, while a meeting of estates apart from the council was not strictly considered to be a Parliament. By the gradual assimilation of council and estates the English Parliament gained its peculiar strength, which was equivalent to that of the French *parlements* combined with the Estates-General.

This is the theme that Professor Pollard has elaborated with all his characteristic powers of clear exposition. He has made new investigations of related subjects such as the estates, the peerage, representation, commonalty, and the two houses, which tend to show that the most familiar institutions are likely to be misunderstood, whenever their history is read backwards by the reflected light of later centuries, instead of forward, from the sources. The process of research might have been carried further, especially in the modern period, but with the advent of war the work appears to have been hastily concluded. Of contributions so recent as J. C. Davies's *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.,* no notice has been taken.

Presented first as popular lectures, the chapters retain much of their original form, with overlapping titles and iterations beyond the needs of a printed text. For the sake of argument, too, there is an inclination to set forth obsolete theories as though they were still prepossessions of the public mind (p. 20). But since the days of Stubbs, the Myth of the Three Estates is not so much of a myth, nor the Fiction of the Peerage so purely a fiction as these titles are meant to suggest. Digressions are not unwelcome when the thought is fresh and stimulating, though the discourse upon liberty, medieval and modern, has little to do with the phases of liberty especially evolved in Parliament. The Separation of Powers however affords less that is unfamiliar in the contrast made between flexible and inflexible constitutions, according

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to the traditional view of the English and the American systems of government. With a touch of rhodomontade we are told that in the United States, such is the obstructive power of the courts, social reform depends more upon judicature than upon legislation (p. 253), while presidential assassinations and the lynching of negroes are forced into comparison with impeachments and bills of attainder.

It was not to be expected that in traversing the centuries a historian whose chief claims to eminence lie in a special period should fail to make mistakes. Among the most serious are statements, that judgment of peers, as mentioned in Magna Carta, was "a more or less novel royal expedient" (p. 91); that trial of peers in Parliament was always on capital charges (p. 97); that in trials of criminous clerks judgment was given in the secular courts, while execution remained with the ecclesiastical authorities (p. 196); that in the House of Commons any member can now by "spying strangers" cause the galleries to be cleared (p. 22). The author is perhaps yet more prone to hazard remarks that cannot be proved. How is it known, for instance, that Richard II. thought of the theory of hereditary divine right (p. 220)? And where in contemporary sources is the form *consilium continuum* (p. 281) to be found? Again, the novel contention that *plenum parliamentum* means "open" instead of "full" parliament (p. 33) is not convincing, in view of the fact that "full parliament" is a recurring phrase in fifteenth-century English.

The work further abounds in illustrative and pictorial features. It contains brilliant parts, as well as lapses of style and thought; without claims to finality it has made advances in the history of the subject, and encourages further advances on the part of others. In place of a bibliography, which would have been acceptable, we are assured that a card catalogue of materials has been compiled for the use of students.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land. By W. H. R. CURTLER. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. Pp. viii, 334.)

CAREFULLY documented, dispassionately written, this book is a healthy antidote to those frequent and yet somewhat vague assertions that the land of England has been, in a somewhat mysterious way, spirited away from a numerous and hardy class of small proprietors by great landowners. This is the principal contribution of this book to the agrarian literature of England.

The résumé which the author gives of English agriculture from Celtic days to the time of the Tudors is excellent; but inevitably it is familiar ground, much more fully covered by Seebohm, Gay, and Ashley. The account which he gives of the methods of enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is detailed yet lucid; but here again one finds nothing which may not be discovered in Hasbach and

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Hammond. His vigorous defense of the enclosure acts, however, and of the English landlord is new and refreshing, and provocative of much thought.

To quote his own words:

> Contrary to the popular idea that enclosure was wholly a landlord's movement, modern investigation has clearly discovered that there was a distinct effort on the part of the peasantry, beginning as early as the fourteenth, and continuing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to abandon the open field system and escape compulsory cooperation with the lazy and the shiftless.

The contemporary outcry against enclosure in the Tudor period he finds not only exaggerated, but to some extent uncalled for; and, although he admits that it brought hardship to certain classes in society, he maintains that to some extent it was inevitable and that, on the whole, the early enclosure movement did more good than harm.

Thus also in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Mr. Curtler in general upholds the enclosure acts, and, though freely admitting that "by 1887 only 12 per cent. of the occupiers of agricultural land in England were also owners", he considers that other causes, aside from enclosures, thus reduced their ranks.

Chief among these was the Industrial Revolution, sweeping away the cottage industries. The towns acted as a magnet to the small agriculturalist, whether yeoman, farmer, or laborer, while at the same time the Speenhamland Land Act bore far harder on the small holder than on the large. And although he concedes that the cottagers possessed moral rights to the commons which were ignored, he affirms that the total good accomplished in bettering waste land and in improving the breed of cattle more than compensated for this evil.

The growth of land allotments, of parcels of land under five acres, cultivated by agricultural laborers or other workmen, has gone on steadily since the middle of the nineteenth century; and of this movement Mr. Curtler approves heartily, attributing its success, as he does, very largely to the co-operation of the landlords. But of the Small Holdings acts of 1892, 1906, and 1908, which attempt by law to create a class of small independent farmers on holdings of from five to fifty acres, he is openly sceptical, coming to this pessimistic conclusion in regard to them: "Indeed no one who looks carefully into the facts can entertain any hope that the system of small holdings can be carried out to any such extent as to counteract at all the flow of the rising rural population into the town."

The last two chapters of this book, dealing as they do with the last three decades, are the only ones which impress the reviewer as scanty in scope and deficient in information. The *Report of the Land Inquiry Committee*, published in 1913, gives quite a different story of recent development in the theory and practice of allotments and small holdings. It intimates that not only there is an unsatisfied demand for

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land allotments, but that small holdings are far more eagerly sought for than Mr. Curtler intimates. With the success of the small holder on the Continent constantly in mind, one cannot quite follow the author in his argument that a like success is improbable in England. It is clear, at any rate, that the progressive decline of the British agricultural population, as indicated by the last census, of 1911, is an unfavorable social omen in Great Britain, and that stiff measures of some description need to be taken.

WALTER P. HALL.

Studies in Statecraft, being Chapters Biographical and Bibliographical, mainly on the Sixteenth Century. By Sir GEOFFREY BUTLER, K.B.E., M.A., Fellow, Librarian, and Praelector in Diplomatic History at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1920. Pp. vi, 138. $4.00.)

THIS thin volume of essays, which "make but the humblest of pretensions" (introduction), deals with theories of sovereignty, pacifism, and world organization for the preservation of peace, mainly in the sixteenth century. The title would lead one to expect a series of essays on the work of statesmen and diplomats, but, with the exception of chapter IV., on Sully and his Grand Design, what is given is studies on the speculations of obscure political philosophers. Chapter I. deals with Bishop Roderick and Renaissance Pacificism, being a critical exposition of the bishop's treatise, *De Pace et Bello*. Chapter II. treats of the French "Civilians", Roman Law, and the New Monarchy, and shows for the civil lawyers (as Gierke, by the way, shows for other lawyers) that medieval legal theory by no means supported the position of the autocrat. Chapter III. sketches the life and work of a remarkable scholar, William Postel, who was out of his head part of the time and, one is tempted to say, in trouble the remainder of the time, and who regarded the establishment of peace as achievable only through the dominance of France. Sir Geoffrey's opinion that political philosophers will deem this of interest "in the record of the growing significance of the secular nation state" (p. 49) seems doubtful to the reviewer. Did not Pierre Dubois hold much the same opinion two hundred and fifty years earlier, to say nothing of the others around A.D. 1300? (See Dubois's *De Recuperatione*, and R. Scholz's *Publizistik*.) Chapter V. treats of "the Grand Design" of Emerich Crucé, who would have a permanent bench of the ambassabors of all sovereigns, located in one city, "in order that the differences that might arise should be settled by the whole assembly" (p. 99). Surely this is more naïve than Dubois's league to enforce peace.

The essays are of value as showing the movement of international ideas among the lesser lights. The bibliographical addenda on the writings of Rodericus Sancius (Bishop Roderick) and of William Postel are

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well done and useful. But one reader at least was irked by the discursiveness of the essays, which savor, to him, more of the platform which the author adorned during the war (we remember him very kindly as a member of the British Mission) than of a scholarly book on political theory. Thus, in working up to Crucé's proposal for preserving peace, Sir Geoffrey quotes Crucé's advocacy of the resumption of Charlemagne's plan for knitting together the Rhine and Danube, and then adds:

> The two seas were joined in time, but they had to wait two hundred and fifty years, and then the necessary work was not undertaken by a French King but by the most relentless of French enemies, after a peace disastrous to France and sown with the seed of future European wars; but it is interesting to find foreshadowed by Crucé a development of German canalisation, which within thirty years of the Peace of Frankfort was to give Germany, and Prussia in particular, 8750 miles of canals, of which 5041 were main streams, 885 composed of channelled rivers and the rest canals proper dug in the fashion which Crucé had projected (pp. 94–95).

Such commentaries seem out of place in a volume of scholarly essays, and we prefer the more restrained method, employed so well, for example, in Herbert Fisher's *Studies in History and Politics* (Oxford, 1920).

G. C. S.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor. Bände VII. und VIII. *Pius IV., 1559–1565; Pius V., 1556–1572.* (Freiburg-in-Breisgau: Herder and Company. 1920. Pp. xl, 706; xxxvi, 676.)

It is reassuring so soon after the Great War to receive these two thick volumes. True, the author tells us that both were all but completed when the breaking out of the war made publication impossible. But he tells us also that throughout the war, despite its severing him from Rome, he could go on with the work, since already its materials had been gleaned from the archives. Great difficulties there were; but they did not prevent his practical completion of the pontificates of Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Paul V., and Gregory XV. Further volumes may therefore be expected soon; and these will carry us to 1623. No wonder that the author, though now past the middle of his sixties, can begin to count with confidence on bringing to its purposed goal the great work of his life.

When in 1886 its volumes began to appear, and when each surpassed its predecessor in the almost appalling conscientiousness of its research, it seemed unlikely that a lifetime could suffice. But the years soon demonstrated, too, the writer's remarkable capacity for work; and, though task after task has been laid on his competent shoulders, his history of the popes has gone steadily forward. Perhaps the war

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itself may have lightened his interruptions; and the new poverty of his diminished country can hardly help lessening the activities of that great Austrian school of research at Rome of which since Sickel's retirement he has been the director. His success as a historian has found other recognition than added duties. The name, which on the title-page of his first volumes was identified by academic dignities, but soon stood proudly alone as Ludwig Pastor, was in his fifth volume, in 1909, ennobled into Ludwig von Pastor, and now appears with the added title of Freiherr; and a reward perhaps as welcome has been the acclaim of the world of scholars.

With these two volumes he reaches the climax of what he prefers to call the Catholic Reformation, and he makes no secret of his growing zest in the tale. That the first volume is the thicker, though it deals with the briefer pontificate, is only because it includes the story of those closing sessions of the Council of Trent which shaped all modern Catholicism. Pope Pius IV., indeed, is sketched as no unpleasing figure: of middle height and healthful color, with friendly, cheery face, high brow, and gray-blue, lively eyes, a slightly aquiline nose, his grizzled beard close trimmed, a chatty talker and a kindly, albeit an impatient, listener, careless of ceremony, restlessly active despite his sixty years, and wedded to the long walks in which he found his exercise, no theologian, but a good classicist, a sound canon lawyer, above all a sane administrator and a tactful diplomat. Nor does his historian question the genuineness of his loyalty to the Council and its work and to the reform of the Church. But he lays bare without flinching the irregularities of his earlier life, the easy-going worldliness of his personal habits, the nepotism which might have brought renewed disaster to the Church, had not the favorite nephew proved a saint. It is that nephew, Carlo Borromeo himself, who plays the leading rôle. Even on Pius V., who owed him his election, his influence is shown to have been great.

Pius V., however, holds the centre of the stage. As no predecessor except the German Hadrian, and perhaps the short-lived Marcellus, he is the joy of his historian. But the historian is not blinded by his saint-hood. In an appendix on the biographers of Pius he protests against their hagiographic mawkishness. His own search for new evidence has been diligent and fruitful; and he does not fail to see how often the simple-hearted piety of Pius and his relentless rigor squared ill with actualities. But a pope whose character and purpose brought back, at least to Catholic Christendom, the papal leadership, inspires his narrative to almost epic swing, and sometimes swells it to a history of Europe. In Spain and the Netherlands, in France, Great Britain, Germany, he has, indeed, little but Pyrrhic victories to record; but against the Turk the pope's crusading ardor won a lasting triumph, and for Pius V. his usual order of treatment is abandoned to make Lepanto the climax of the volume.

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Older readers, who owe their interest in these popes to the work by which Ranke, just half a century before Dr. Pastor took up his pen, established his reputation as a historian, or to that essay of Macaulay, suggested by it, which made the Protestant world sit up and ponder, will wish to know how what they then learned is shaken by this fresh research. To all earnest historical study it should be a reassurance that so little error is shown. True, the influence of Ranke upon Pastor, who from the outset rated him "the most important of all Germany's Protestant historians", has clearly not been slight; but this has meant no lack of readiness to correct his facts or criticize his views. What warranted and what distinguishes the work of Pastor is its access to the sources and the thoroughness with which it uses them. Where Ranke could but divine, touching only the high points in his sweep, Pastor establishes by solid proofs, or discredits by their absence. His reader has the rare satisfaction of feeling that he has in hand a definitive study. Even of the Council of Trent, Ranke believed that such a final history would never be undertaken, "since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done", while "those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means". It was with Leo XIII. that the church authorities rallied to that verdict of Pertz which Pastor makes the epigraph of his opening volume: "Die beste Vertheidigung der Päpste ist die Enthüllung ihres Seins." But even to their historian one rich body of records is still closed. The archives of the Inquisition he has besieged in vain; and without their aid a satisfactory study of the inquisitor pope might seem impossible. Happily, they too have suffered breach. Every scholar knows how their treasures were in part carried off to Paris by Napoleon, with the rest of the papal archives, and how after his fall they had to be returned, including the trial of Galileo. Fewer perhaps will remember how some of them, however, mysteriously made their way to Dublin, where they are still in the keeping of Trinity College, and have found partial publication at the hands of Gibbings and of Benrath. Now, a part of these belong precisely to the pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V. Alas, it is to be feared that what is still unprinted could hardly, during the war, be at the service of a German scholar; but in these last years there have been other disclosures, and a decade ago Professor Pastor himself published from Roman libraries a precious gleaning.[1] Thus equipped, what he is able to tell us in the present volumes is at least of high interest; and no pages, perhaps, deserve a wider audience than those on the activities of Inquisition and of Index.

[1] It will interest students to know that the printed book which he counts almost a manuscript, finding even in the libraries of Rome only an imperfect copy, and falling back for the extracts he prints on a complete one, somehow in the hands of the Roman antiquary Bocca, is now on the shelves of Cornell University. This is the *De Inconstantia in Jure* of Cardinal Albizzi, secretly printed under a false imprint for the private use of the Inquisition, and only lent to its officials during their terms of service.

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But, though his honesty, his frankness, are beyond all question, though he prefers in the main to quote verdicts from contemporaries without remark—he can even, without a comment, let the pope himself, in 1565, say to the cardinals that scarcely a tenth of all Christians are still Catholic—it must not be inferred that of his Catholic and Ultramontane sympathies there is ever doubt. And let no reader expect in his pages any attempt to understand or make intelligible the attitude of Lutheran or Anabaptist, of Calvinist or Anglican. All, he tells his readers, that these religious innovators agreed in was the utter repression and outrooting of the Catholic worship. And even less than for these fierce opponents has he an understanding heart for those who dream of mediation or of parity. Not Elizabeth alone or Catharine de' Medici to him are wholly self-seeking, unscrupulous, void of religion. Little, if at all, less conscienceless are William of Orange, Maximilian of Austria, even L'Hôpital. The Edict of January is to him the immediate cause of the French religious wars. But, such as they are, his volumes are of inestimable worth to men of every faith.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Wallensteins Ende: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe. Auf Grund neuer Quellen untersucht und dargestellt von HEINRICH Ritter VON SRBIK. (Vienna: L. W. Seidel und Sohn. 1920. Pp. xvi, 407. M. 60.)

WHILE not formally concerning himself with Wallenstein's character, activities, or guilt, it is repeatedly evident that the author considers him, in these last months, a dying man, hopelessly vacillating, but following one great ideal, for "nur die grosse Sehnsucht, sein Leben durch das Friedenswerk zu beschliessen, erfüllte den Mann"; and "nach seinem subjectiven Ermessen war nicht er dem Kaiser, sondern der Kaiser ihm, dem Reichsfürsten, zum tiefstem Danke und zur politischen Gefügigkeit verpflichtet".

The guiding thread is the question of responsibility for Wallenstein's death, with emphasis on Ferdinand. One result is a valuable history of the propaganda involved. The story, beginning abruptly in the middle of 1633, portrays Ferdinand and his motives, the elements opposed to Wallenstein "Die Glaubenseiferer konnten nichts anderes als Kreigseiferer sein", and the swirling waves of denunciation, extreme, conscienceless, often baseless, slowly convincing the emperor. "Welches ungeheuerliche Lügengebäude hat Piccolomini aufgebaut". The attitude of the army is analyzed, "und da war es nun des Friedländers Verhängnis, dass Offizier und Mann nie das Band der verehrungsvollen Zuneigung, des warmen Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls mit ihm hatten knüpfen können". The bitter "Proskriptionspatent" of February 18 ensues, following the "Absetzungspatent" of January 24, and the order,

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of the same date, "das Haupt und die vornehmsten Mitverschworenen, wenn irgend möglich, gefangen zu nehmen und nach Wien zu bringen oder als überführte Schuldige zu töten". This order is "ganz authentisch nur durch Lamormaini bekannt", who writes thus to Vitelleschi. A satisfactory, if not very astonishing, chapter studies the theories behind this order, especially the Hapsburg position regarding political assassination.

Regarding the circumstances at Eger, elaborate analysis of materials gives first place to a paper which "unzweifelhafte innere Kriterien" proves to be a report made by Gordon at Eger, before February 28, and corrected there by Piccolomini on March 1. This conclusion seems highly probable. The document is printed in full. Leslie's report is ranked next, with one by Macdaniel which the author discovers translated in an "informatione" probably compiled by Piccolomini. He makes a good case for this claim. Other sources are carefully appraised, including the "Chaos perduellionis", which is assigned to the Hofprediger Weingartner, who produced during this affair, "eine Reihe von Werken voll unsagbarer Gehässigkeit, heimtückischer Intrigue und unmenschlichen Fanatismus". On this basis it is argued that the officers at Eger knew of the "Gefangennahme oder Hinrichtung" order, that "niemahls wird sich die Notwendigkeit, dem Herzoge das Leben zu rauben, erweisen lassen"; and the final scene is interestingly changed through using Gordon: "worauf die Mussquetierer Rebellen, Rebellen geschryen, dass fürstlich Losament eröfnet und Ihr fürst. Gn., so bloss im Hembt am Tisch lainendt gestanden und mehr nit alss Ah guardir gesprochen, von mehr besagten Capitain mit vor gehenten Wortten Du schlimmer, meinaydger alter rebellischer Schelm mit der Partisan zwischen beeden Prüsten durchstochen worden . . . ". No trace of heroism is found among the assassins.

The last book is devoted to the resulting propaganda on every hand; Ferdinand's early acceptance of responsibility; the wavering due to failure of the desired proof of charges made in December and January against Wallenstein, and the dangerous state of opinion; the final recognition of responsibility, under strong pressure from Piccolomini and others, with heavy rewards for everyone even remotely concerned.

On the whole the book is definite, restrained, and helpful. Occasionally certainties and strong probabilities are too obviously built of many little probabilities and possibilities. Placing the emphasis so decidedly on Wallenstein's enemies, together with the narrow chronological limits, gives some feeling of incompleteness; but it is, within its limits, worth while, showing some able handling of sources, much interesting detail, and publishing several valuable documents.

H. L. KING.

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Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen, vom Englischen Puritanismus bis zur Pariser Kommune, 1642–1871. Von Dr. ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI, o.ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. (Leipzig: Verlag der Dykschen Buchhandlung. 1921. Pp. 229. M. 25, bound M. 38.)

IT is inevitable that the recrudescence of revolution in the world should turn the attention of historians to the general subject of efforts to alter the form or function of government by force. We may expect a series of studies of revolutionary movements or of revolution in general from their pens. And it is natural that, with their well-known enterprise, the earliest of these should come from the hands of the Germans. The little volume of Professor Cartellieri is doubtless only the forerunner of what we may expect to see in varied and greatly enlarged form; and it is interesting, therefore, not only for itself, but for the promise which it contains.

There was a time, and not so long ago, when such a book would have been pretty generally received more or less uncritically, with the awe-inspiring prestige which attached to all historical work made in Germany. There was something terrifying in the very name of German scholarship, an esoteric quality which set it apart from the work of mere—shall we say?—Americans. The simple fact that it had been written at all, would have convinced many persons that it was a more or less epoch-making work, and they would have been correspondingly awed. That day has passed. If the war has taught us nothing else, it has proved that the work even of German scholars is not above and beyond all criticism, and the least of us may now look upon it as if it had been produced by ordinary human beings. We may venture to judge it by the same standards as we would apply to the labors of our own colleagues. We may even find fault with it.

Professor Cartellieri has to his credit an imposing list of titles. He has published a register of the bishops of Constance, three volumes of a history of Philip Augustus of France, with lesser studies in the same general field, an outline of world history, an account of Weimar and Jena between the years 1806 and 1815, the usual essays on Germany, France, and the war which most of us have written, but which few of us have made into books, and some lectures on the foundation of the German Empire. In other words, his chief work has lain in the field of the Middle Ages, from which safe retreat he has been drawn, naturally and irresistibly, into the less-calm arena of modern politics. He is, therefore, not an individual but a type, and as such deserves some consideration.

His present volume is a book of some 200 pages, carefully indexed, and accompanied by a table of dates and a bibliography. Its character may in some measure be determined by the latter. It contains nine

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general studies of revolution, all published in Germany since 1913, and brief lists of the works he has presumably consulted in preparing this series of lectures, now elaborated into a book. That his study has not been profound, these lists witness. For it is difficult to take seriously a volume which so obviously relies on the *Histoire Générale,* on Seignobos, Lodge, Montague, Madelin, and Taine, even though it owes something apparently to Aulard, Macaulay, Brosch, von Sybel, Stern, and Sorel.

In brief, we have here what the author would, possibly, be the first to admit, a series of more or less hastily compiled lectures, corrected and revised for publication. In some measure he does admit this in his preface, however qualifiedly. But no one could pretend that this is more than the first word on the subject. It is true, as he says, that there is no other such work—but there will be others. And what he has done is scarcely more than to blaze a trail. Not even that, for he has merely retold in briefer form what many men have told before him. His account of the French Revolution of 1789—the longest single section of the book—is the conventional story, whose time is passing. His account of the English revolutions lacks most of the more intimate knowledge which makes them intelligible. He omits all reference to the American Revolution and the Spanish-American revolution, as well as the Greek, the Spanish, and the more recent movements in Germany and Russia. His account of the revolutions of 1848, especially in Central Europe, is perhaps the best part of the book. But neither there nor anywhere else does he take any adequate account of what is, after all, the fundamental quality of revolution, the state of mind of those who conduct it, the psychology of the movements whose external events he describes. Nor could that be expected from one whose life-work has been so largely done in a field far removed from the one he now invades. For it takes more than the reading of Macaulay and Taine to get under the skin of modern revolutions; and Professor Cartellieri must suffer the fate of all insufficiently equipped pioneers in consequence. One who undertakes the difficult and dangerous task of chronicling revolution must know more of the "ungeheuren Literatur" to which he refers in his preface than even "Montague und Lodge, das schöne und unparteiische Werk von A. Sorel sowie die grosse angelegte, inhaltreiche Darstellung von A. Stern". For, however unique, however useful, his book may be for certain purposes, it cannot be regarded as either authoritative or definitive.

The Kaiser vs. Bismarck: Suppressed Letters by the Kaiser, and New Chapters from the Autobiography of the Iron Chancellor. With a historical Introduction by CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, Professor of History, Columbia University. Translated by BERNARD MIALL. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1921. Pp. xxii, 203. $2.50.)

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THE present work has been heralded as the long-promised third volume of Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, the publication of which in Germany last year was prevented by judicial proceedings. In the absence of the German version it is impossible to place the responsibility for a dozen or more unintelligible passages and mistaken references in the English text, but the character of the present rendering may be measured by the fact that the chancellor's letter of resignation (pp. 113–117), published in the original by Busch immediately after Bismarck's death, contains seven errors in translation, some of them quite destructive of the sense.

In his vigorous style, and with entire frankness in personal detail, Bismarck traces through a dozen chapters his relations with William, from 1886 down to his own final departure from Berlin on March 29, 1890, under circumstances which reminded him of "first-class funeral obsequies", supplementing the story with a discussion of the first results of his dismissal, the German foreign policy in the Heligoland-Zanzibar exchange, and the Austrian commercial treaty of December, 1891. Inner evidence and the tone of the narrative, which the author says was based on notes made from day to day, place the writing of the book within two years after Bismarck's retirement.

The chancellor opens his story with an account of his, for the most part futile, efforts to provide Prince William with experience in civil administration, and documents the lack of harmony between the future kaiser and his father by a confidential letter from Crown Prince Frederick, protesting against bringing the "vanity and presumption" of his son into touch with foreign affairs. Step by step, then, with illustrations from his correspondence, the chancellor pictures the series of misunderstandings which arose with William's entry into public life. The persons who form the kaiser's coterie of advisers are analyzed with a bitter pen: the Grand Duke of Baden, the vice-president of the ministry, Boetticher, Bismarck's *ad latus*, who in his chief's opinion now p'ays the traitor; and especially, the inner clique of unofficial advisers, headed by Hinzpeter, an "educationalist", who "play upon the kaiser's appetite for reform" with "humanitarian ideas brought from England".

The struggle opens with the crown council meeting of January 24, 1890, when after a long absence the chancellor returns to find the kaiser ready to launch a new programme of protection and privilege for labor, and continues for eight weeks. Bismarck assures us "I did not cling to my position—only to my duty" (p. 85), because he felt the emperor to be under "alien influence" and "held it as my duty to remain beside him as a moderating influence or eventually opposing him" (p. 86). The final decision agaist him the chancellor places between March 8 and 14, and connects it with a visit of the Grand Duke of Baden, although "to this day", he asserts, "I have not with absolute certainty learned the actual reason for the rupture." With grave dignity he recounts the

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reiterated demand for his resignation, and his humiliation at the post-mortem honors which William thrust upon him. The pen-picture of Caprivi which follows is touched with the bitterness of a quarter-century of feud with the army chiefs; that of William II. is a comparison, measured and judicial, but none the less satirical in undertone, of the kaiser with his forbears on the Prussian throne, culminating in an arraignment for lack of loyalty to tried servants: "With the transition from the Hohenzollern spirit to the Coburg-English conception an imponderable factor was lost which will be difficult to restore" (p. 151).

Bismarck's story is of deep psychological interest both for the light it throws on his own character and on that of William, but it adds little to our knowledge of the events. Equally important for these, and to be read in connection with Bismarck's account, is the recently published posthumous *apologia* of K. H. von Boetticher (*Fürst Bismarcks Entlassung,* Berlin, Scherl, 1920). Here the dismissal of the chancellor is reviewed from the standpoint of a pliant though conscientious bureaucrat, with the inclusion of many private and public papers of a confidential sort, not accessible to Bismarck in his retirement.

Two points in the present work will be examined by the student of recent German history with especial interest. Regarding the first, the book offers confirmation that, in spite of all denial by Bismarck's biographers, the chancellor's reactionary attitude toward the Socialists must have eventually led to something like a *coup d'état* against the Federal Constitution. He had come to the point where he viewed the Socialist danger as "no longer a legal question but a matter of civil war and internal power" (p. 48). Like confirmation is given in the other significant point, the fundamental difference of opinion between the kaiser, under army influences, and Bismarck as to the value of Russia's friendship. By a "caprice of fortune" Schuvalov presented his credentials to negotiate for a treaty (a renewal of the *Rückversicherungsvertrag,* which lapsed in June, 1890) on the day on which Bismarck sent in his resignation. He was authorized to deal only with Bismarck or his son, not their successors (p. 123).

ROBERT HERNDON FIFE.

Recollections of a Foreign Minister: Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky. Translated by CHARLES LOUIS SEEGER. (Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 303. $2.50.)

M. IZVOLSKI was a *diplomate de carrière.* After holding diplomatic positions in the Balkans, Washington, Rome, Munich, Tokio, and Copenhagen, he became Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1906–1910, and then ambassador at Paris until 1917. But anyone who expects to find any revelations about Russian foreign affairs in this book will be disap-

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pointed. Most of the chapters, slightly modified, were published, though it is nowhere so stated, in 1919, either in the *Fortnightly Review* or in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. In the chapter on the Secret Treaty of Björkö, the only chapter dealing primarily with foreign affairs, the author takes issue with some of Dr. Dillon's statements, especially with the view that the secret treaty was directed against France, whereas in reality it was directed against England, or at least against the Anglo-French Entente; otherwise there is little in this chapter which was not already known to readers of the *American Historical Review*.

Though disappointing to the student of diplomatic history, M. Izvolski's volume is interesting and valuable as a revelation of himself and as an intimate picture of political cross-currents and personalities in Russia in the years 1905–1907—the period when Russia was taking her first tottering steps in constitutional government. As one of the progressive provincial nobility, with wide culture and superior social connections (of which he was not unaware), he took an active part, in addition to his burdens as foreign minister, in all Russia's difficult domestic problems. He opposed on principle the reactionary slavophilism and narrowness of the bureaucrats. He deplored the combination of heterogeneous elements in the Witte and Goremykin cabinets, rightly preferring a homogeneous cabinet, made up of "liberals" like himself, or even of Cadets. But the bureaucratic influence was too strong and the tsar too weak to secure the solidarity of such a cabinet. In the composition of the First Duma, Izvolski thought Witte made a great mistake to include such a large proportion of peasants; instead of being a conservative support to monarchy through their supposed loyalty to the Little Father, as had been hoped, a good part of these peasants soon demanded expropriation of the land—the rock on which the First Duma was wrecked.

Among the author's admirable portraits of the leaders of the period—Lamsdorff, Goremykin, Stolypin, Miliukov, Trepov, and the tsar himself—the most complete and discriminating is that of Witte. Never falling under the glamor of Witte's powerful personality, yet never sharing the violent aversion which the "self-made man" inspired in so many Russian nobles, M. Izvolski seeks to balance fairly the great achievements and the political and moral weaknesses of the man who was in some respects his rival. He criticizes particularly Witte's tendency, as finance minister, to extend state control over railroads, industry, and commerce, and thus build up for himself a kind of personal civil service constituting a state within a state. This exaggerated *étatisme* tended to kill individual initiative and the healthy growth of local self-government through the zemstvos, which was Izvolski's own ideal. Moreover, he says, Witte's financial agents attached to the Russian embassies abroad, corresponding in cipher with the finance minister and acting independently of their nominal diplomatic chiefs, often main-

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tained political ideas opposed to those of official Russian diplomacy. But he gives no specific examples to confirm this sweeping statement.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Merchant Navy. By ARCHIBALD HURD. Volume I. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 473. $7.50.)

THE Historical Section of the British Committee of Imperial Defence, under the editorship of Sir Julian Corbett, divided the work of writing the history of the Great War into three parts. The first treats of the active operations of the Royal Navy itself, about which Sir Julian is now writing four and perhaps five volumes with his own pen, one of which has already appeared (*Naval Operations,* vol. I.). The second concerns the economic effects of the naval war on ocean-borne trade, and is in the competent hands of Mr. C. Ernest Fayle, whose first volume has already appeared (*Seaborne Trade,* vol. I.) and was noticed in the April number of this *Review* (XXVI. 531). It will comprise several further volumes.

The work now under discussion has for its subject the activities of the merchant fleet of Great Britain, and forms the third category of the general war history. As Mr. Hurd says, the British merchant seamen, on account of the piratical policy of the German admiralty, were forced by circumstances, over which neither they nor the British naval authorities had any control, into the forefront of the struggle by sea.

> They had entered the Mercantile Marine with no thought that they would be exposed even to such trials and sufferings as their predecessors sustained during the previous Great War, for there had been much talk at various international Conferences of ameliorating the conditions of warfare; they found themselves involved in a conflict waged by a merciless enemy with large and newly developed resources. The seamen were defenceless, for this emergency had not been foreseen either by the Admiralty, by the shipowners, or by the seamen themselves. . . .
>
> The ordeal to which the men of the British Mercantile Marine submitted with generous patriotism can be appreciated only if it is described in an appropriate setting, ignoring neither the plans of the naval authorities for the protection of merchant shipping, elaborated in the years before the outbreak of the war, nor the measures afterwards adopted to enable merchant shipping to resist with better hope of success the enemy's policy.

The book comprises an account of the operations of the Auxiliary Patrol, which was practically a new navy called into being at the admiralty's invitation, and the history of which Mr. Hurd rightly calls "one of the most remarkable aspects of the war by sea".

The feature of all these volumes published by the British Historical

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Section that especially challenges the admiration of the modern historian is their thoroughness and comprehensive arrangement. On the other hand, chapter and verse, though often mentioned, are not invariably quoted, the reader being asked to take the accuracy of the reference for granted. Possibly this is inevitable in a series of volumes that aim to be at once authoritative and readable. The mass of detail is extraordinary, but the dryness of a large portion of the data is relieved by spirited descriptions of such events as the actions against submarines, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Mr. Hurd incorporates in his first volume a fairly comprehensive history of the merchant marine of Britain from Saxon times, no fewer than 136 pages being given to the pre-war period. In the course of his discussion of the losses of the British marine during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, he does not shrink from breaking a lance with Admiral Mahan, if in a minor field of controversy, and in many ways shows himself a master not only of detail but of the historical viewpoint. In the matter of accuracy, it is an extremely difficult matter to check up a volume of this kind, with its thousands of references. Some mistakes are doubtless inevitable, but there are, here and there, evidences of a carelessness that seems foreign to such a work. For example, in referring to the late Mr. John D. Long's *The New American Navy*, the author is called "former secretary of the Navy Department, U. S. N.", and his name is given as "the Hon. James Long".

The volume is provided with three excellent maps, a comprehensive index, and a dozen full-page illustrations in half-tone. On the whole, it is a very worthy companion of the monumental contributions to naval history by Sir Julian Corbett and Mr. Fayle.

EDWARD BRECK.

La Renaissance de l'Hellénisme. Par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. Préface de M. POLITIS, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Grèce. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. vi, 242. 6 fr.)

THIS book contains sixteen lectures given at Athens early in 1920, upon invitation of Messrs. Venizelos and Politis, together with a discourse pronounced at Versailles after the author's return. Its interest does not lie in newly discovered material, but in its revelation of the point of view, in days *post bellum et post victoriam*, of a Frenchman, well informed and accustomed to large historical generalizations, when tracing summarily the history of Hellenism and estimating the place and rôle of modern Greece.

To M. Driault, Greece and France are closely related, as mother and daughter (p. 241). They are civilized (p. 39), and the other nations are barbarous (p. 237), especially Germany, her allies, and Russia (pp. 98, 142, 179, 194, etc.), but by implication, also England and America (p. 89). The recent war is a triumph of the Mediter-

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ranean civilization; "light does not come from the north" (p. 70). M. Driault said in his *La Question d'Orient* that Germany had no place in the Mediterranean. Now he says the same of England; France, not England, should have Egypt—apparently the attempts of Louis IX. and Napoleon I. to conquer the country are regarded as having helped to found a French title (p. 139). He says a good word here and there for Italy (which required some courage in Athens in 1920), yet he considers that Italy "betrayed the Mediterranean civilization" by joining the Triple Alliance (p. 150). Austria he would like to see replaced by a confederation of free nations, "a whole crown of French friendships" (p. 221).

As regards Greece, he is distinctly in favor of the "Great Idea", which he discreetly defines as the purpose that "all the lands that are Greek should be Greek" (p. 113). He does not discuss what makes a land Greek, whether language, religion, former occupation by a Greek majority, or former rule from Byzantine Constantinople. He distinctly says, however, that Cyprus (p. 146), Rhodes (p. 184), the Ionian coast (p. 24), and Constantinople (pp. 47, 50, 52, 98, 224) should be Greek, the first two because the majority is Greek, the others because they were once Greek. M. Politis in his preface sets forth the idea of a Greece, civilizing and educating her neighbors, and standing sentinel for the West against the German "danger", Russian imperialism, and Oriental barbarism (p. iv). This metaphysical abstraction is encouraged by M. Driault, who must have rejoiced his audiences greatly by promising them Constantinople, the "protection" of the Turks and Armenians (p. 161), the reopening of the great trade-routes, and a new age of Pericles (p. 225).

The relations of France and Greece he finds it sometimes a little difficult to describe in accordance with the theory of kinship and cooperation. He tries to work around the fact that since 1535 France has usually supported and sometimes tried to strengthen Turkey (pp. 56, 127), by saying that, when unable to destroy the Moslem power, it was best to be friends with it, so as to protect and emancipate its Christian subjects (p. 120). Here he overlooks the fact that the interest of France was regularly confined to Roman Catholic Christian subjects of Turkey. While erecting into an affirmation the suspicion that the German Metternich suggested to Mahmud II. that he call upon the Egyptians to put down the Greeks (p. 109), he omits to state that the army which Ibrahim Pasha brought to the Peloponnesus had been trained and was accompanied by French officers. Of interest is his laying blame for the destruction of the Parthenon on Germany—"always against you" (p. 163)—on the ground that the Venetian admiral used German guns and gunners (pp. 101, 232). He passes very hastily over the equivocal part played by Greece during the Great War, but regrets that much French sentiment was against Greece because of the behavior of King Constantine (p. 18—this was before Constantine's recall

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to the Greek throne). He recommends that Greece prefer French policy to that of the English, who consider sentiment a weakness, and play a close and able game (p. 223).

M. Driault still believes that the capture of Constantinople in 1453 was a principal factor in the Italian Renaissance (p. 103), and that the Turks closed the roads to Asia, and brought about the great discoveries (p. 56). He crowds the facts somewhat in saying that during the Fanariot period the Turkish administration was "almost absolutely in the hands of the Greeks" (p. 102). The claim is interesting that whereas Napoleon I. "liberated" Poland and Italy, he would have liberated Serbia and Greece also except for "circumtances" (p. 88). Peculiarly French is the contrast of Napoleon's treatment of Mme. Walewska with William II.'s treatment of Miss Cavell (p. 91). Lack of knowledge is shown in jeering at the Bulgarian claim to Macedonia on nationalistic grounds (pp. 146, 192). Few still hold the narrow view that the Great War had "all its origins in the worldwide and especially the Near Eastern ambitions of William II." (p. 167).

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Modern China: a Political Study. By SIH-GUNG CHENG, M.A., B.Sc., Fellow of the Royal Economic Society. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. Pp. vii, 380. $3.75.)

To present in a single small volume a suggestive account of the origin and present problems of the new Republic of China is a difficult task; but Dr. Cheng has accomplished it with a high degree of success. The earlier pages, which deal chiefly with the Chinese constitution, are of very great interest, as they show us a keen Oriental mind, thoroughly informed as regards the history of cabinet government, seeking to fit that delicate machinery to conditions equally familiar to him, but little understood by the average Western student of history and politics.

In all of his suggestions Dr. Cheng wisely insists that the Chinese reformers and modernizers should build upon Chinese foundations in so far as that is possible. His aim is a successful Chinese republic, not an imitation of Western republics. He believes that the federation of the Chinese provinces, and the centralization of military control offer the most promising way out of the chaos which has resulted under "the present day nominal centralization"; and he makes a convincing argument in favor of his thesis.

The disturbing factor of the present day—the military governors of the provinces—as Dr. Cheng points out, date only from the revolution of 1911, which is still in progress. These "Tuchuns (military governors), with the armed force at their command" he says, "have always overwhelmed their civil colleagues. . . . If China is to be saved from the danger of internal disruption . . . she must centralize the administration of her army." It is almost needless to add that every

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competent Western observer will agree with this suggestion. If China is to face her future, whether in the field of domestic or foreign affairs, with a fair chance of success, the Tuchuns must go.

It is difficult for a Chinese to realize the complete ignorance of Europe and America concerning things Chinese, and it is doubtless for this reason that Dr. Cheng touches so disappointingly lightly upon the greatest and most encouraging feature of Chinese political history, namely, her ancient and successful local self-government by a gentry chosen by a mysterious process of natural selection, and in no sense a social caste or hereditary nobility. "What they have done is to develop self-government in their municipal districts", he says, on page 8; and he later adds the statement that these officers have been enabled "to exercise their powers for many long centuries, without a single instance in which their authority was questioned".

What we of the West have not done is "to develop self-government in . . . municipal districts"; and it would do us good to read a detailed description of this ancient achievement of which even the average Western scholar knows nothing. China's future, and that of every younger nation, will depend largely upon the success with which the problem of municipal government is handled. We therefore regret the fact that Dr. Cheng has devoted only four of his 380 pages to this most important feature of Chinese political history.

In part II. Dr. Cheng gives a brief but comprehensive sketch of Chinese foreign relations for the modest period of twenty-two centuries, and treats somewhat in detail great current problems, like exterritoriality, tariff administration, foreign investments, Shantung, Chinese labor, the ascendancy of Japan in the Far East, and the Eastern policy of the United States. His accounts of those Western contacts which slowly caused China, "for the first time in four thousand years of wonderful and sensational history", to discard "the idea that she was the only civilized country on the earth" are clear and conspicuously free from prejudice or provincialism. He sees the crimes and the mistakes of China quite as clearly, and states them quite as frankly, as those of other countries. Not content with merely stating problems, he also ventures upon very specific suggestions as to their solution, and places the chief responsibility for solution where it properly belongs, upon the Chinese themselves. His book, therefore, promises to be of unusual value, for it will help his fellow republicans in China to understand the delicate machinery with which they are dealing; and it will also help his fellow republicans of the West to understand the very able people with whom, under modern conditions, they must deal, and to have patience with their inevitable mistakes.

ROBERT M. MCELROY.

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BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Von FRIEDRICH LUCKWALDT. In two volumes. (Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger. 1920. Pp. x, 351; viii, 336. $4.00 in paper, $5.00 bound.)

THE chapters of this history covering the period to the close of the Civil War were completed by 1914, the rest were finished by 1920. One can readily appreciate the difficulties the author must have encountered in working over the material for the recent period. He has devoted 496 pages to the period from Raleigh's first Virginia colony to 1876, only 84 pages to the momentous developments from 1876 to 1913, and, in conclusion, 80 pages to the Wilson administrations.

The writer has given a straightforward, interesting account of many of the main events in United States history. His work is probably intended for the general reader in his own country who wants an outline of American development. For the American scholar, the work will be of little value. Both as to content and as to interpretation, it follows traditional lines, is based mainly on the older American masters, and makes little use of the monograph material of recent years.

The chapters on the Revolutionary Period are among the best, although several statements need revision in the light of recent publications. The writer has a particular gift for describing military events adequately and without boring details. The "Critical Period" and the formation of the Constitution are handled in the conventional manner, There is perhaps not enough emphasis upon the imperialism of the New West as a cause of the War of 1812, but in later chapters there is no inclination to ignore the importance of westward expansion in the building of "the real America". Luckwaldt has also avoided the exaggerations of von Holst in dealing with the slavery controversy.

For the recent period, one finds the treatment least satisfying, and many gaps in subject-matter. The Greenback and Free Silver agitations are discussed with hardly a reference to economic conditions in the West and South, and the panic of 1893 is inadequately treated. Four lines dispose of the problems of Oriental immigration; one page suffices for Taft's presidency; and the Progressive movement suffers from the same kind of treatment. The writer has something to say of the evolution of new standards of social values in the recent period, and of the trend away from the traditional American individualism; but he has failed to make use of some of the best illustrative material to support his conclusions. The final chapter, on Wilson and the World War, may be of some interest at this time, because of the writer's characterization of President Wilson, and of some interesting comments upon the German-Americans, German policy, and British and German propaganda in the United States. The writer correctly suggests that the violation of

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Belgium was the one insurmountable obstacle for German propagandists who tried to win America for the German cause. The peace treaty is considered a breach of faith with Germany, although the writer is still hoping that America may be the means of serving and saving the world.

There are some errors in the text; for example, the dates for the introduction of slavery in Virginia (I. 38), and for the founding of Harvard (I. 54). The influence of French political theorists in 1775 is exaggerated, and John Adams, rather than Washington, deserves the credit for determining that the power of removal should be in the President alone (I. 182). The Ordinance of 1787 is discussed without a reference to how and why the West came under the control of Congress (I. 219); the statement in regard to the apportionment of representation in the Confederation Congress is inaccurate (I. 214); the House election of 1801 is disposed of without a reference to Hamilton (I. 214); the estimate of Monroe's career is perhaps too generous; and McKinley was shot, and not stabbed (II. 210). Finally, constitutional matters are almost entirely ignored.

CARL WITTKE.

The United States of America: a Study in International Organization. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT, A.M., J.U.D., LL.D. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xix, 605. $3.00.)

THE all-important, compelling task challenging world statesmanship is the organization of peace; not sentimental aspiration, but purposeful contriving of conditions and institutions. In this cause we welcome the continued efforts of the Carnegie Endowment: its exposition of economic facts bearing on the problem, its propaganda of the basic juridical ideas essential to its solution, and particularly its advocacy of conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication as the more excellent ways for adjusting international relations.

The volume under review naturally follows Doctor Scott's recent book of cases, *Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States*; it is, in fact, a systematic exploitation of its contents. But to begin with, the familiar constitutional story is retold at length—how from trading companies grew American plantations and provinces, inheriting English law and developing constitutions of their own; how the idea and practice of union gradually appeared, finally taking shape in the independent Confederation under Articles adopted in 1777–1781; how a critical period supervened, in which the commonwealths developed what they regarded as self-sufficient statehood, but in which external weakness and internal discord forced a realization of their utter dependence upon each other and their need of more adequate organization

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of union; how the upshot of it all was the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, with its laborious contrivings and miraculous success. A concluding third of the volume is devoted to the analysis of the Constitution and of some three dozen leading cases of its interpretation by the Supreme Court, with particular reference to the judicial power—its nature and limits, the mode of its exercise, and particularly its applicability to the affairs of sovereign states.

The author's main interest seems to be the inquiry: How does the federating of the American states (which he continues to regard sovereign) affect the organization of judicial power within, among, and over them? and further, How can American experience in these matters be turned to account on the world scale? A particular instance is the elaborate argument that states can, by waiving exemption from suit, submit their disputes to court adjudication, and that the American states have by such agreement on certain controversies "made them justiciable". Another chapter characteristically concludes: "Questions political in their nature may thus become judicial by submission to a court of justice, to be decided in accordance with principles of law and equity, and we are justified in the belief that the States composing the society of nations can, if they will, agree by convention to submit their disputes to a tribunal of their own creation. . . ."

The concluding chapter, on a More Perfect Society of Nations, makes rather wistful reading, with its eager paralleling of the situations of 1787 and 1918 (the book is dated from Armistice Day), with its suggestions of what might be effected if —. America of 1918, irresistible, magnanimous, seemed to be teaching a warring world how it is both moral and profitable to co-operate, even to unite and become one! Our author cautiously adds, "The Society of Nations may not be willing, and indeed even with good will may not be able, to go so far now or at any time as have the States forming the American Union."

Indeed, this tempting parallel is utterly deceptive. In the American case there was cultural unity to start with, and a continent of opportunity; in the European or world case of 1918, the pathetic absence of those conditions. For an indefinite future to come it may probably be desirable that world peoples regulate their relations on a basis neither cosmopolitan nor of unified sovereignty, but strictly *inter-national*. That way alone lies freedom and progress. Yet we may agree with Doctor Scott that "However many steps they [the world nations] may take or however few toward the closer Union, the experience of the framers of the Constitution who traversed the entire path should be as a lamp to their feet."

HENRY R. SPENCER.

The Founding of New England. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 1921. Pp. xv, 482. $4.00.)

THIS work is the best short history of early New England that has

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appeared for a generation. Untainted by New England ancestry or residence, uninfluenced by tercentenarian sentimentality, with a broad background and scholarly equipment, Mr. Adams maintains a serene, judicial attitude and proves his capacity as a historian. He has made no original research but has digested the greater part of the printed material that has appeared in the last thirty years, and retold the story of early New England in a clear, simple style, with touches of quiet irony.

A comparison of Mr. Adams's book with Fiske's *Beginnings of New England* (1889) reveals the new method of approach to colonial history. Almost one-quarter of Fiske is taken up with the Roman Idea, the English Idea, and with Puritan origins. The *Founding* opens with three admirable chapters on the geographic and climatic background, early exploration, and the Race for Empire. Only on page 64 does one reach Some Aspects of Puritanism. Further, we find chapters on the Theory of Empire and the Reassertion of Imperial Control. The period which Fiske calls the Tyranny of Andros is by Mr. Adams entitled, an Experiment in Administration. Our author appears to be more interested in the imperial problem than in any other aspect of New England history. His book will give the public a short and pleasant cut to the work of Andrews, Beer, Osgood, and Newton. He puts New England in her proper place in the empire. His brief exposition of the mercantile system is the best we have seen. Apart from these chapters, we have mainly a political history of the New England colonies to 1692, with the emphasis on Massachusetts Bay. Indian and intercolonial relations are handled with particular care, and many fresh and suggestive ideas thrown out to the reader.

We read the book with unalloyed admiration for Mr. Adams's scholarship and workmanship until we reached the following statement, on page 121: "Not more than one in five of the adult males who went even to Massachusetts was sufficiently in sympathy with the religious ideas there prevalent to become a church member, though disfranchised for not doing so." At this point we place a rod in pickle for Mr. Adams. In "glacial" Massachusetts, church membership was a rare privilege, jealously guarded by those who already possessed it. One could attain nothing higher on earth. As well might one say that failure of a mason to attain the most exalted degree indicated his lack of sympathy with freemasonry, as that failure of a Puritan to attain church membership proved indifference to the Puritan faith. On this implication, largely, Mr. Adams rests his thesis that the bulk of the New England immigrants were indifferent to the Puritan faith. Abundant evidence to the contrary exists. The majority probably did resent the political control of the elders, and disapproved their grosser acts of religious intolerance. But to assert that "three quarters of the population . . . persistently refused to ally themselves with the New England type of Puritan church", distorts history.

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But on the whole, our quarrel with Mr. Adams is not with what he has said, but with what he has left unsaid. He has studied the Puritan in his three least attractive or successful aspects: his relations with the empire, his relations with his neighbors, and his attitude toward dissenters. Now, the most valuable contributions of the New England Puritan to America were institutional: state and local government (where the church franchise did not apply), ecclesiastical polity, land distribution, and public education. These aspects of the founding of New England Mr. Adams apparently has not studied; his references to them are few, scattering, and in part derogatory. Because the new communities produced no Locke or Newton or Clarendon their educational system is deemed of small account; why teach the Yankee his letters, when he had nothing to read but the Bible and Michael Wigglesworth? Of the social life of the early New Englanders, Mr. Adams tells us nothing; and of their economic life very little, save in connection with imperialism. Nor is a lifelike portrait given of any individual in the drama, save the sinister Endecott. These omissions will leave Mr. Adams's readers with rather a distorted picture of the Puritans, particularly as he has devoted much space to their religious intolerance.

That part of the story is told with dignity and justice; and it cannot too often thus be told. Mr. Adams appreciates its value as a lesson and a warning. Yet, as he evidently (p. 277) considers the United States of 1920 a model of tolerance, how by the same token can he deem the Bay theocracy intolerant? There, in the seventeenth century, were a group of men who at great expense and energy were attempting a new social-religious experiment in the wilderness. In the infancy of their chosen institutions it was unwise, but was it intolerant to exclude irritating elements? Surely there was enough space in America, north of the Merrimac and south of the Charles, for other 'isms. Here, in the twentieth century, a people of a hundred millions, with institutions hardened by time, has been panic-stricken by a few thousand agitators. It has enacted exclusion laws very similar to those of the Bay colony, and suppressed social dissent—the only sort that matters, nowadays—with as heavy a hand and as loathsome cruelty as ever stained a Massachusetts magistrate.

With all these reservations, we welcome Mr. Adams's book as a valuable and timely contribution—no student of colonial history should fail to read it. But whoever may feel a Briggs-like wonder as to "what the Puritan thought about" must consult Fiske; or, better still, the abundant and revealing literature that the primitive Yankee produced about his sordid self.

S. E. Morison.

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History of the University of Virginia, 1819–1919. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, LL.B., LL.D. Volumes III. and IV. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. x, 403; 376. Each $4.50.)

SUCH readers of Dr. Bruce's opening volumes as were chiefly interested in Jefferson and his Virginian associates, in the early struggles of the new university, and in the light thrown upon contemporary conditions, may perhaps feel a decline of interest during their perusal of the present installment of this extensive work. Graduates and friends of the institution, on the other hand, to whom the salient facts of its founding have long been more or less known, may find their interest increasing rather than diminishing as the historian progresses in his narrative. These third and fourth volumes exhibit as fully as did the first and second Dr. Bruce's thoroughly satisfactory handling of his abundant materials, with the additional advantage, in the opinion of at least one reader, that the pages devoted to the period of the Civil War enable the writer to give expression to his most generous emotions and, in consequence, afford a happy illustration of his powers as a man of letters. The sketches of the alumni who fell in the service of the Confederacy and the description of the antecedents of the student body to be found at pages 272–275 of the third volume challenge admiration and are likely to be considered by many as forming the most notable portion of one of the most remarkable works of its kind in our literature.

Four periods in the life of the University of Virginia are covered in these two volumes: "Expansion and Reformation, 1842–1861", "The War, 1861–1865", "Reconstruction and Expansion, 1865–1895", and "Restoration, 1895–1904", the last period deriving its name from the destructive fire of 1895, which is effectively described. A series of articles would scarcely do justice to this immense mass of topics and details, but a review may at least bear witness to the skill with which they are arranged. Points of special significance are the honor system, perhaps, next to the elective system, that feature of the institution which has been most widely discussed outside the limits of Virginia; the riot of 1845, extraordinary in the history of college discipline; the university's most distinguished alumnus, Edgar Allan Poe, who receives a few suggestive pages; the influence of the institution on higher and secondary education with valuable sketches of ante-bellum and post-bellum headmasters; the evolution of academic degrees—but such a list tends to be as tiresome as it is valueless.

As was to have been expected, the fourth volume has much more to say about athletics than its predecessors found to be necessary. An unathletic elderly alumnus has only admiration for the sympathy and knowledge Dr. Bruce displays in his treatment of this somewhat parlous topic in modern educational history; and, if more strenuous and

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youthful alumni are not satisfied with what they get, they may be recommended to read the odes of Pindar in the original. The learning of Professor Gildersleeve will be of service to such as follow this advice, which suggests the fact that the portraits of some of the early professors —for example, Gildersleeve himself, Sylvester the mathematician, George Frederick Holmes, another transplanted scholar who is still the present writer's standard for wide and deep erudition, and John B. Minor, the famous teacher of law—ought to be the subject of special mention. As with the preceding volumes, the proofreading, although not precisely impeccable, is very good; and we may expect that the concluding fifth volume will be furnished with the elaborately thorough index which so important a work obviously demands.

W. P. TRENT.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918. Volume II. *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren.* Edited by J. C. FITZPATRICK. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1920. Pp. 808.)

VAN BUREN'S *Autobiography* is a better book than most people expected from the writer, but it leaves something to be desired. Similarly, it reveals Van Buren as a more effective political leader than many of us thought he was, while at the same time it shows us a man with serious shortcomings. The book is a faithful and unconscious reflection of the man. Van Buren was lacking in political courage, which is to say he lacked the power to outline a policy and make other people think it right. He did not lead in the realm of ideas. He talked much about old republican ideals, and there is reason to believe that in some important crises he acted in conformity with such ideals, as in the matter of internal improvements. But such crises never arose through his forcing them into the foreground. They were ever the results of the actions of other men. It was his failing that he lacked originality.

On the other hand, he possessed more than most men in public life the power of keeping steady a political situation, once it had been created. He was calm, self-controlled, vigilant, and personally kind and conciliating. He did not lose himself in the excitement of the moment. He came into eminence in the wake of other men, solving their problems for them. Crawford first, and Jackson second, were the men who gave him the opportunity to display his great and peculiar talents. None were ever better served by their lieutenants than they by him. After a while it happened through unexpected fortune that he himself had in his hands the helm of state. He held it in a most uncertain and ineffective manner. His task was to bind up the loose ends of the bank controversy. Jackson placed the government in his hands and pointed out the subtreasury as the means of closing up the matter in hand. Van Buren

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accepted the suggestions. But he got nothing done until his administration was nearly at an end. It seems that nothing would have been done at all if Jackson in retirement had not moved heaven and earth to get the men in Congress to pass the measure before the election. As it was, the subtreasury did not have time to commend itself to the country before the election of 1840, and the result was a Democratic defeat. Van Buren who did so much, as his book well shows, to make Jackson's administration run smoothly was not able to give any driving force to his own administration. Herein is his great strength and weakness, all of which appears in his *Autobiography*.

The things one misses in the book are discussions of large matters. As Jackson's closest adviser, at least before 1833, he was in close association with some of the largest things in our political history. Nullification, the renewal of the bank charter, the removal of the Southern Indians, and internal improvements, were matters of first magnitude. I do not think you will find in the book two consecutive pages on any one of these topics, as such. There are many allusions to each, but in general they come up by way of someone's personality. If there is just exception to this statement it is in regard to internal improvements, about which a long and interesting story is told in explanation of the veto of the Maysville Bill. On such a question as nullification, the writer is mixed in his ideas. It may seem that he was trying to conceal his position. But it is more likely that he had no definite policy about it and that he tells us just what came into his mind in regard to it, something one day and something else another, as the incidents unrolled themselves. That was his kind of a mind. Hence it results that the book is lacking in architectural form, although there is a wealth of pleasing incident. One cannot read it without interest, but one must ponder it well and rearrange in his own mind the order in which the matter is presented before it yields him a considerable amount of instruction. When all is done he will probably conclude that the new information is about men rather than about things, and that the most striking acquisition he has made is a wider and better knowledge of the manner of political intrigue and the vast importance it has as a factor in history.

The editing by Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, has been done with commendable care. The index, so essential in a book like this, is comprehensive. It is to be regretted that Van Buren did not have some chapter heads, although it is difficult to see how they could have been arranged in a work that rambles so much at will. The editor has, naturally, refused to supply them. Van Buren broke off his narrative abruptly in 1835. His editor thinks he did not intend to carry it further. While discussing the charges that the bank paid Webster for his support, the book ends suddenly. Mr. Fitzpatrick's surmise may be right; it would have been in keeping with Van Buren's method of writing to end his story abruptly without warning to the reader.

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The Life of Whitelaw Reid. By ROYAL CORTISSOZ. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. x, 424; 472. $10.00.)

OF the great editors who adorned the period of the Civil War, only Horace Greeley trained up to succeed him another worthy of membership in the same group. Henry Watterson, Horace White, Murat Halstead, and Samuel Bowles finished their work, leaving no real successors; but Greeley followed the writing of Whitelaw Reid during the war, captured him for the *Tribune* in 1868, and when he died left him in so commanding a position that the owners of the paper made Reid editor. "I hope the Lord will give me to see the day when a good newspaper will command itself", wrote Charles Dudley Warner to Reid on the eve of his elevation to Greeley's chair. In Reid's hands the *Tribune* did command itself for nearly forty years. It became for the historian the most consistent and authoritative source for Republicanism among the American journals. Yet it did not lose its high degree of independence, and kept from becoming the organ of any faction. Reid, at the helm, posed as a kingmaker and looked the part. He advised with presidents, nearly conceding their equality with the *Tribune* as American institutions. And he rounded out the incessant labors of the editor with the activities of the country gentleman, the eager citizen, the financier, and the diplomat.

The writer of this admirable biography was long an editorial associate of Reid, and has brought to the task trained skill as a man of letters. The book is interesting beyond most American biographies, since Thayer's *Hay*. It is based on "unrestricted access" to Reid's correspondence, more profitable since it was "a trait of his to preserve his correspondence with the utmost care". It is put together with a skill that makes it a veracious portrait of the *Tribune* and its policies. Its only defect (which is perhaps not a defect in such a work) is the deep underlying conviction that the *Tribune* and Reid were always right.

Most of the facts given in the biography are, of course, already known to specialists, but even these have reason to be grateful for the careful assembling of evidence. Occasionally new facts of importance are brought to light. There are many fresh letters bearing upon the Blaine-Conkling rivalry, and some of them will help to clear up doubtful points in the history of Garfield's ill-fated administration. The devotion of Reid to Blaine did not prevent the giving of sound and undesired advice (I. 378). The tragedy of Blaine's own career is pointed by Blaine's keen analysis of the collapse of the reputation of Henry Clay (I. 377). Reid thought that, in 1884, Blaine "won, morally, an extraordinary success" (II. 99).

The diplomatic career of Reid furnishes interesting chapters in the second volume, where various passages that reveal him reluctantly accepting office invite comparison with Thayer's dicta upon his chronic

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place-hunting. At Paris, at the peace conference with Spain, and at London, Reid showed the same assurance that guided his pen in the editorial office. His career does much to reconcile one to the American habit of picking ambassadors outside the diplomatic corps. Few Americans of Reid's day had a more successful life, or deserved it more.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

How America Went to War. By BENEDICT CROWELL, Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Munitions, 1917–1920, and ROBERT FORREST WILSON, formerly Captain, U. S. A. In six volumes. I. *The Giant Hand: our Mobilization and Control of Industry and Natural Resources, 1917–1918;* II., III. *The Road to France: The Transportation of Troops and Military Supplies, 1917–1918.* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xxx, 191; xi, 307; 311–675. Set of six vols. $42.00.)

THESE volumes are the first three of a series of six being published under the general title *How America went to War,* and which a subtitle declares to be "an account from official sources of the Nation's war activities, 1917–1920". The real aim of the series seems to be less ambitious, though the matter is left uncertain, since the preface declares that all the volumes except the first, which deals with the War Industries Board, are concerned with activities most of which fell within the administrative province of the Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Munitions, who is, incidentally, a co-author. Another prefatory sentence announces, furthermore, that the story presented comes not only from the official documents and files, but also from the memories of the men who did the work. These circumstances are worth noting, because they furnish a clue both to the incompleteness of the volume as a comprehensive account of the enterprises described, and to the subjective and superficial nature of many of the comments on events and personalities.

In fairness it should be stated that the intention apparently has been to produce a narrative account of our participation which would appeal to the general reader. From this standpoint the three volumes are reasonably successful. In few places is the reading hard, and some chapters, such as those on convoying, camouflage, and submarine adventures, are distinctly interesting. The volumes are, furthermore, well printed, and the illustrations are excellent.

The first volume, dealing with the War Industries Board, gives a general idea of the board's functions, organization, and personnel. The foreword embodies a sharp attack on the President, Secretary of War, and the War Department for failure to take suitable steps in anticipation of our entrance into the war, and for lack of proper organi-

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zation and sufficient vigor during our participation in the year 1917. The thesis is developed that if the results of our industrial war effort were disappointing, the cause was the administration's failure to order the goods in time, and that there was no failure of industry itself. While the administration must bear the full responsibility for its deficiencies, it would seem that the authors' judgments of industry are too laudatory. No mention is made, for example, of the airplane fiasco, which certainly was not chargeable to a lack of ordering by the administration, nor of ill-advised policies—such as "business as usual", advocated late in 1917 by certain business leaders.

One cannot help feeling, furthermore, that the volume suffers from a too-great reliance on interviews with the persons involved, each of whom is depicted as about the happiest choice possible for his job. A greater number, and a more diversified selection of points of view, might have been drawn on with advantage, and a more critical attitude might well have been taken toward the information elicited.

The second and third volumes, jointly called *The Road to France,* deal with the transportation of troops and military supplies. The preface to these volumes, in the course of some rather remarkable phraseology, manages to convey the impression that transportation was in some substantial manner a function of the Assistant Secretary of War. This impression surely is misleading. The volume starts with a forced and unfair comparison between the early embarkations of troops during the Spanish War, and the routine movement established in 1918 after approximately a year's experience. Not until the reader has gone further does he begin to discover that the first embarkations in 1917 were conducted under conditions of confusion rivalling those of the earlier war.

Part I. of *The Road to France,* entitled "The Land", describes the railroad movement of troops and freight in this country. The account is interesting, and gives a good general idea of how the thing came off, although it is not without those defects of method noted in connection with *The Giant Hand.* A chapter is inserted endorsing the work of the Railroad Administration.

Part II., "The Port", deals with handling of troops at the ports, and with the organizations of the Embarkation Service. Here the reader should accept many of the statements regarding responsibility and credit with extreme reserve, since the emphasis has been distributed in a very doubtful manner. This condition probably arose innocently and as a result of the method used in collecting the information. A striking example in point, however, is that in no part of the account of overseas transportation, or in any of the three volumes under review, for that matter, is any mention made of General March, although Secretary Weeks, in accepting the general's request for retirement, wrote, on June 14, 1921: "I especially wish to mention your success in directing the transportation of troops to Europe during the war, which was a service

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of great magnitude and in which you accomplished really remarkable results." It is also doubtful if the statement on page 241, to the effect that the Embarkation Service and its director were the decisive factor in the acquisition of the Dutch tonnage, can be accepted without proof.

Part III., "The Sea", contains interesting chapters on the navy's part in the movement, convoying, the preparation of the troop fleet, and the Shipping Control Committee. A decidedly one-sided view of the functions of the latter is presented, a surprising omission being the absence of any reference to the War Trade Board's large part in determining what commodities the committee should haul. The account also goes too far in conveying an impression that the army's needs were satisfactorily met, omitting to mention, for example, the shortages in the shipment of trucks and animals, which were made manifest during the Argonne struggle. Credit is also given the Embarkation Service for studies of ocean-trade and shipping conditions which actually were made by the Shipping Board and the War Trade Board. The accounts of our dealings with the Allied Maritime Transport Council border, in places, on the fanciful. The three volumes, in fact, display a tendency to detract from the British attitude and accomplishments, which is in decidedly poor taste. On page 330 this reaches the ridiculous in a grotesque statistical comparison of troop-ship performance.

Altogether it is difficult to know just how to place these volumes. They might win recommendation as a popular account of our part in the war were it not for the errors, omissions, and distortions to which the reader would be exposed. Certainly they cannot be accepted as a well-balanced, critical examination of our effort. The fundamental defect is a too ready and enthusiastic acceptance of stories derived from too few of the principal figures involved.

F. SCHNEIDER, JR.

MINOR NOTICES

La Doctrine Scholastique du Droit de Guerre. Par Alfred Vanderpol. (Paris, A. Pedone, 1919, pp. xxviii, 534.) The present work, in which the author aims to show the traditional and, in a certain sense, unvarying, character of the Christian doctrine on war, is divided into three parts. Part I. gives an exposé of the scholastic doctrine on war under the following headings: is war permitted to Christians?; the legitimacy of war; the definition of just war; the just cause; the authority necessary to declare war; the right intention; obligations of princes and subjects; consequences of the doctrine and the rights of the victor.

This part is itself written in the scholastic style. Objections are answered first, and then the proper principles are briefly and clearly laid down, supported by abundant and judiciously selected excerpts from the Fathers of the Church, the theologians, and the canonists.

Part II. outlines the history of the scholastic doctrine on war from

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the Old Testament through the Christians of the first three centuries, St. Augustine and St. Thomas, the applications of, and departures from, the doctrine from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, down to the theologians of the last three centuries.

Part III. contains as *pièces justificatives* translations of relevant portions of Gratian's *Decretum* and St. Thomas's *Summa,* together with Victoria's *De Jure Belli* and *De Indis* and Suarez's *De Bello* in their entirety. An appendix outlines the doctrine of Suarez on international law. An analytical table is also appended.

Professor Émile Chenon, of the Faculty of Law of Paris, contributes a good-sized preface, in which is given a detailed account of the author's life and works. Alfred Marie Vanderpol, whom the celebrated Belgian statesman Bernaert once called "le chevalier de la paix", was born in 1854 and died in 1915. Although an engineer by profession, he had received his licentiate in law, and was an energetic leader in peace movements in France and Belgium. The Ligue Belge pour la Paix and the Union Internationale (founded in 1912, with headquarters at Louvain) were fostered, if not actually founded, by him. One of his friends, at his solicitation, supplied the funds necessary for the establishment at Louvain of a chair of international law according to Christian principles. Until his death he was closely identified with the Ligue des Catholiques Français pour la Paix, of which he was president, and in whose bulletin he began his apostolate of the pen.

The material collected in the present volume and published posthumously had previously been presented to the public in various smaller publications of the author, such as *Le Droit de Guerre d'après les Théologiens et les Canonistes du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1911), *La Guerre devant le Christianisme* (Brussels, no date), and articles in the *Bulletin de la Société Gratry* (which became, in 1910, the *Bulletin de la Ligue des Catholiques Français pour la Paix*). The volume at hand supplies a positive want in the literature of international law, with regard to its history, its founders, and its relation to Christianity. The author's death shortly after the outbreak of the war, followed within a few years by the death of that indefatigable worker among the scholastic jurists, Ernest Nys, leaves a distinct gap among the cultivators of this field of international law.

HERBERT F. WRIGHT.

Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Von R. Reitzenstein. (Bonn, A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1921, pp. xii, 272, M. 45.) The period of the first two Christian centuries is well known as an age when a welter of creeds and sects prevailed in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. These movements and their influences can no more be neglected by the student of history in general, than they can by the student of theology. Early Christianity had to contend not only as a rival against historic Judaism, but with

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Hellenism, fading Mithraism, the Mandaean religion with its survivals of old Babylonian beliefs, and had soon to confront a more formidable rival to itself in the rise of Manichaeism. Persian ideas filled the atmosphere at the time, and Zoroastrianism was about entering upon an era of revival which restored much of its pristine glory.

A book like Reitzenstein's *Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium,* which emphasizes the significance of Persian influence upon the ideas of redemption during these ages, is therefore important; and in it the scholarly author has followed in his method of investigation the lines of the well-known work of Bousset on Gnosticism and its problems, the volume being dedicated to Bousset's memory.

The author deals first, in a critical manner, with some of the new and valuable material which has recently become available through the discovery in Turfan, Chinese Turkestan, of the long-lost bible of Mani. The importance of these finds is still too little known to Christian theologians. A lengthy treatment is next given of the doctrine of the soul and related matters in the Mandaean religion, including the Mandaean Book of the Dead. Deductions of a religious and historical character are then drawn, and extensive supplementary material with regard to the doctrine of the Aeon and of the Eternal City is added in two elaborate appendixes.

With reference to Manichaeism, the author has enjoyed the advantage of drawing upon some of the Turfan fragments that have not yet been published in the texts hitherto made available by the Berlin scholars F. W. K. Müller and A. von Le Coq; and he has had likewise philological assistance from the Iranian specialist Andreas, of Göttingen. Among the fragments still awaiting publication in detail is a so-called "Zarathushtra-Fragment", which contains a portion of a Manichaean hymn that cites from Zoroaster. This is introduced in translation by Reitzenstein, and made the starting-point for his main thesis of Iranian influence on the redemption idea. With regard, furthermore, to Mandaean sources, the learned professor has derived much help from the work of his colleague Lidzbarski, who has done so much to make the Mandaean literature accessible in translation.

On the whole, although exceptions may be taken to certain views, or though opinions may differ on particular points, the author must certainly be accredited with having succeeded in showing that, in addition to recognizing the presence of other elements, scholars should lay due stress also on the Persian influence upon the doctrine of the mystery of the redemption. In doing this, Dr. Reitzenstein's great erudition enables him to bring together a vast mass of material drawn from the many branches of knowledge of which he is a master; but the weight of learning often makes the text rather heavy reading, and sometimes difficult to follow.

A. V. Williams Jackson.

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Marcus Aurelius: a Biography. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. 309, $2.75.) "In this little book my purpose is to provide those people for whom the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius contain a deep religious meaning, with such introductory information about him, his character, his religion, and his life, as I think, judging from my own experience, they may desire." This charmingly written sketch is to be judged in the light of its aim as set forth in these words from its preface. Mr. Sedgwick writes from the point of view of the twentieth century and its religious perplexities, and with no great technical equipment. He has read the literary sources, but he nowhere cites an inscription. For instance, he quotes Livy's account of the prosecution of the Bacchanalians under the Republic, but apparently he has never heard of the extant Senatus-consultum de Bacchanalibus (pp. 220 ff.). He has no clear conception of the imperial constitution, else he would hardly have expressed his surprise at the democratic manners of the Antonines (pp. 105 ff.), or at the denial of a triumph to an imperial legate (p. 151). Naturally he leaves the reader without any definite picture of the routine work which Marcus Aurelius as emperor was called upon to perform. A trained Latinist will experience a humorous twinge on finding the aristocratic Fronto referred to as Marcus Aurelius's "pedagogue". The three chapters which Mr. Sedgwick devotes to the exculpation of his hero from the charge of being a foe to Christianity contain only one new suggestion, namely, that the unpopularity of the Christians with the Roman lower classes may have been due in part to the fact that the Christians spoke and wrote in Greek. Mr. Sedgwick is evidently unacquainted with the epigraphic evidence which proves that the lower classes in Rome were largely recruited from the Greek-speaking East. Similar inaccuracies and inadequacies might easily be pointed out. Nevertheless, Mr. Sedgwick has furnished the general reader with an interesting account of the literary and spiritual life of the Middle Empire. In an appendix he gives a descriptive bibliography of the ancient literary sources, and lists a number of the best modern books upon the subjects treated.

DONALD MCFAYDEN.

Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence, 855–928. Par René Poupardin, Directeur à l'École Pratique des Hautes-Études, Secrétaire de l'École des Chartes. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1920, pp. lviii, 155, 23 fr.) When in the late nineties the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres undertook the publication of its splendid collection of definitive editions of documentary sources to be known as *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, it was planned that the section containing the charters of West Frankish and French kings from 840 to 1223 should include also those of the kings of Aquitaine from 814 to 866 and of the kings of Provence and Burgundy from 855 to 1032;

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and the editorship of the volumes on Provence and Burgundy was intrusted to René Poupardin (see preface by d'Arbois de Jubainville, in Prou's *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France*[1], Paris, 1908). The first of M. Poupardin's volumes now lies before us, and it is entirely worthy of the great series of which it forms a part. The editor has already distinguished himself by two admirable volumes on the kings of Provence and Burgundy in the ninth and tenth centuries, and has consequently long been a student of the documents which he now brings to publication. The plan adopted is the same as that of the *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France,* by Maurice Prou, with which the series was inaugurated in 1908, and which has rightly served as a model for succeeding volumes. This volume contains the documents of Charles of Provence, Boso, and Louis l'Aveugle—only 59 charters all told, and some of these are suspect or clearly forgeries; but the collection is a precious one nevertheless, because of the paucity of other sources for the period. M. Poupardin's introduction is a model of what such diplomatic studies should be. One conclusion from it may be especially noted. It is impossible to say that there was continuity of chancery organization from one reign to another in the kingdom of Provence during this troubled period. But all the royal charters here published were drawn up in the chancery: there is no reason to suppose that any of them were drafted in the local ecclesiastical establishments in whose favor they were issued and then brought to the chancery for confirmation and the affixing of the royal seal.

C. W. David.

Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning. By Reginald Lane Poole. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920, pp. xiii, 327. Second ed. revised.) The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has done well to reprint these scholarly and thoughtful essays, and especially, since their author, now released from the *English Historical Review,* finds time to revise this work of his early manhood. But the revision, his preface tells us, "has been designedly made with a sparing hand, and the book remains in substance and in most details a work not of 1920 but of 1884". The words "and learning", added to the title, imply no addition to the contents, but only describe them more truly. In the few foot-notes added or expanded the new matter is carefully bracketed. Only in the chapter on the school of Chartres and in that on Abelard has new evidence made necessary serious change in the text. Elsewhere a foot-note suffices, as where the statement as to the slightness of Marsiglio's direct influence is modified in deference to the continuous strain of testimony pointed out by Mr. Sullivan.

Mr. Poole's preface tells us, too, how he came to write the book—mainly at Leipzig and at Zurich while a travelling fellow on the

[1] See this *Review,* XIV. 101 ff.

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Hibbert Foundation—and to whom he was most indebted for suggestion. Lechler, the church historian, it appears, set him reading Reuter's *Aufklärung im Mittelalter*; and to Reuter, though he will not confess to learning much from his "exaggerated and often distorted presentment of facts", he owed references to the sources and an outline for the first half of his book. And it was in preparation for the editing of Wycliffe's treatises *On Dominion*, to which he was invited by the society then forming at Leipzig, that from John of Salisbury onward his studies restricted themselves to political theory. Perhaps it was in reaction against Reuter, whose title may well have seemed to him too pretentious, that his own book, as he says, "made no claim to be a coherent history", though it is by no means without reason that "it has sometimes been mistaken for one".

G. L. B.

Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History in King's College, University of London. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1920, pp. 29, 6s.) This useful little atlas contains eleven skilfully drawn and unusually clear maps, with explanatory notes devoted chiefly to the history of Europe since 1815. While it is doubtless true that the omission of physical features enhances clearness, one is tempted respectfully to question Professor Hearnshaw's contention that the addition of physical to political features is impossible without "inextricable confusion". This difficult combination has been accomplished repeatedly of late, to the pleasure and profit of countless users of maps.

The scholarly and suggestive notes lose something of interest and clearness because of rigid condensation. This is well illustrated on page 13, where Venice is included among the "walled towns" remaining under the authority of the Byzantine emperor after the Lombard invasion of 568—as if there were a clearly defined city of Venice either walled or unwalled at that time. Again (p. 11), we find Tuscany classed with Lombardy among the states under the "direct" rule of Leopold II. in 1792. Nor is any distinction made between independence and autonomy, as applied to the status of Bulgaria under the Treaty of Berlin.

Greece did not acquire "all of Epirus" by the settlement of 1913 (p. 16), being compelled to evacuate Northern Epirus. The editor follows the rather confusing general practice of interchanging the terms Austria and Austria-Hungary. For example, Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied, administered, and later annexed by Austria and Hungary jointly. One or two trifling slips, probably typographical, may be noted. East Prussia was secularized in 1525, not in 1528 (p. 7), and Frederick William of Wied should be William Frederick (p. 16). But who cares about the precise name of the amusing *Mpret*?

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The most useful map is that of Europe after the Peace Treaties, 1919–1920. Altogether, the *Atlas* is a decidedly welcome aid to the student.

WILLIAM A. FRAYER.

The Art of War in Italy, 1494–1529. By F. L. Taylor, M.A., M.C., St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1921, pp. 228, $5.00.) The theme of this valuable little book, which won the Prince Consort Essay Prize in 1920, is the development in Italy during the early Italian wars of strategy, tactics, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and the art of fortification. There is inevitably a considerable repetition of similar material in the several chapters.

With a constant use of the best contemporary material, mostly Italian, but with proper attention to French, Spanish, and German sources, Mr. Taylor has produced an instructive study in the growth of Renaissance thought along one particular line. And it is worthy of note that in this line the most practical results were reached by Spaniards. In his last chapter, indeed, he analyzes the work of the best-known theorists of the period upon the art of war, and of them two are Italian, Giambattista della Valle and Machiavelli, and the third a half-Frenchman, Philip the Duke of Cleves. But in most respects, Mr. Taylor's book is an exposition of the manner in which the keen intelligence of the Great Captain and of Pescara won Italy for Spain.

In 1494 there were, he shows, two schools of warfare: that of the French crusaders, which accepted battle on the enemy's terms, for love of a fight; and that of the Italian *condottieri,* which tried to avoid all fighting and win by pure manoeuvre. Gonsalvo began, and Pescara completed, an art of war which sought by scientific strategy the best opportunity to destroy the enemy's forces. The victories on the Garigliano and at Pavia were the result.

In 1494 the Swiss pikemen were, as infantry, supreme, although despised by the feudal gentry. The Spaniards accepted from the Swiss the use of infantry as the chief arm, but, by substituting the sword and musket for the pike, made their infantry more mobile. In artillery the French were in 1494, and remained in 1529, superior to the Spanish; but they lost this advantage by less intelligent tactics.

In an appendix, perhaps to counterbalance the Spanish element elsewhere, is a careful and detailed study, with maps, of Gaston de Foix's great victory at Ravenna.

To the reviewer, it would seem that value would have been added to the book by a comparison of these developments in the West with contemporary developments among the Ottoman Turks.

British Beginnings in Western India, 1579–1657: an Account of the Early Days of the British Factory of Surat. By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Indian Educational Service. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. 158.)

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Under the correct but somewhat forbidding title of *British Beginnings in Western India, 1579–1657*, Mr. H. G. Rawlinson has concealed a valuable and most interesting book. For he has written the early story of Surat, provided with a historical introduction, relating the beginnings of European expansion, with the usual references to Sighelm, Sir John Mandeville, and Stevens, concerning which last interesting figure he gives a fuller account than is commonly found. Thereafter the narrative follows the fortunes of the English station with minute care, and provides perhaps the best account of the beginnings of the East India Company to be found within the same space anywhere. Hawkins and his mission, the conflicts with the Portuguese, Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, the development of the Surat factory and its business, the Interlopers, and the Dutch war, with a chapter on Life in the English Factory in the Seventeenth Century—these give not only a full but a vivid picture of this profitable and romantic beginning of British power in India.

Nor is this all; for two features of the little volume add much to its value and interest. The first is a series of appendixes, which contain material as various as an account of the tombs in the English cemetery at Surat, the factory pay-bills, the form of a "Bill of Adventure" issued by the East India Company for the fourth voyage, a list of the voyages and their profits (from 95 to 234 per cent.), and extracts from Thévenot's account of Surat, published in 1727. The second is a list of illustrations, which, if given somewhat too much to tombs, includes such interesting views as those of the old fort and the old factory, which may profitably be compared, by those who are interested, with the seventeenth-century Dutch views of their posts and those of the Portuguese, especially the splendid view of Surat as exhibited in Dapper's *Asia*, which the author apparently, and, if so, unfortunately, does not know.

Apart from the intrinsic interest and value of such a history of "the corner-stone of the British Empire in India" as a contribution to our knowledge of the subject itself (and that contribution is great), Mr. Rawlinson has, in a sense, done much to produce a new *genre* in English historical writing. He has given us a study in imperial local history, which is sorely needed to correct and amplify those vast and useful compilations, written, as it were, from above, by showing us just how and why "imperial" policies worked or did not work—and how little consciously imperial they were, after all. For the East India Company of the seventeenth century, whatever its imperial connotations and implications, was a very human and concrete thing, not a great national enterprise looking toward the acquisition of the British Raj, nor the result of profound, far-seeing policy of expansion, as might be assumed from many writings on the subject, especially those flowing from Continental pens. To such a view books like these are a salutary corrective. And the British Empire is fortunate in the possession of historians like

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Mr. Rawlinson, who can write books on such subjects in such admirable and entertaining fashion.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

The Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661. By the Reverend St. John D. Seymour, B.D. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. XII.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. xiv, 239.) Mr. Seymour in the little volume under review has done a thoroughly competent piece of historical investigation. He has taken up the ecclesiastical history of Ireland during the period of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth, with extensive and painstaking use of the manuscript "Commonwealth Books" in the Public Record Office, Dublin. He has thrown a flood of new light on an obscure and heretofore little investigated period in the religious history of Ireland, and has made evident the purposes of the Puritan party, the actual working of the Puritan government in religious affairs, and the personnel and work of its appointees.

Mr. Seymour declares, "I have written from the standpoint of a clergyman of the Church of Ireland but have treated all the other Protestant denominations of the period, I hope, with scrupulous fairness." It seems to the reviewer that his claim has been absolutely justified. No one could have been more fair-minded and impartial than he, or more objective in his estimates of the qualities, good and bad, of the ministers whom governmental authority substituted for those of the older church during this troublesome period.

> There has indeed been a tendency on the part of some modern writers to decry the "ministers of the Gospel" *en masse* . . . how uncritical and inaccurate such generalizing is can easily be shown. . . . Nobody would pretend that all the ministers were saints; some passages in the dry Commonwealth records would be quite sufficient to refute such an idea. But men like Winter, Mather, Worth, Adair, must have been powerful instruments for good in the land; while, from the little that we know about Edward Wale, it may safely be inferred that many of those preachers who were so utterly obscure that nothing is known of them except their names were fully deserving of the title "Ministers of the Gospel".

It is to be hoped that Mr. Seymour will continue his studies in the religious history of Ireland.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn. With a Commentary by H. Maynard Smith. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. XI.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. xx, 182.) In the year 1818 were published the *Memoirs* of one John Evelyn, an English gentleman of wide acquaintance, travels, and interest in gardening, some literary skill, and social position, a familiar figure in late seventeenth-century England. Thus rescued from oblivion, his labors became a standard

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source of quotation for literary and historical investigators, a much-read and moderately enjoyed piece of antiquarian literature, and a book which no gentleman's library could be without. It has run through some five or six editions during the past century, and has doubtless proved of some pleasure and even profit to its readers. Among other things, it inspired the publication of a much greater book of the same kind, Samuel Pepys's *Diary*. And now, after a hundred years, Mr. H. Maynard Smith has provided us with a volume drawn from this source which is as fine an example of the still thriving school of antiquarianism as one is likely to discover in much reading. For he has taken a fragment of the whole work, that which begins with Evelyn's birth and ends with his departure from England on his travels in 1641, and edited it after the great manner of Bayle—something less than twenty pages of large-print text, something more than a hundred and fifty pages of finer-print notes and index. It is a work of love and devotion, as every page testifies, and Mr. Smith has not only produced an extraordinarily minute and informing body of notes, but he has had an extraordinarily good time doing it, while his various contributions to a more intimate knowledge of the times are of great interest and value. It is true that he denies Nathaniel Hawthorne a final *e* in his name, but Hawthorne was, of course, an American. It is also true that the name Cromwell, which plays some part in the book proper, does not appear in the index, but Evelyn was, of course, a strong Royalist. And it might be possible to enlarge the list of such minor criticisms. But no student of the early seventeenth century, and no one interested in cross-sections of life in any period, but must be grateful to Mr. Smith for his entertaining and useful book—and envy him for the leisure which has enabled him to produce it, and the pleasure which he has afforded himself and others by the use of that leisure. It is only to be regretted that the attitude of the Evelyn family toward those scholars who have at various times sought to edit the *Memoirs* has made a definitive edition impossible.

England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. By John Alexander Kelly, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1921, pp. 156. $1.25.) Anglomania prevailed in Germany throughout the eighteenth century. J. G. B. Büschel, in his *Neue Reisen eines Deutschen nach und in England im Jahre 1783* (Berlin, 1784), took the lead, but was ably seconded by many other writers. The beauty of English landscape, especially of the English park; the vigor, manliness, and self-reliance of the English men, the loveliness of the women; the "naturalness" of English literature; English religious toleration, but beyond everything else, the freedom of English institutions with their corollaries, freedom from petty restrictions in the methods of education and in social relations, and the high status granted great scholars and great artists, including even actors and actresses—

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all these advantages filled the vast majority of observers with almost lyrical enthusiasm and made them forget or at least readily forgive English national conceit and contempt of foreigners, English taciturnity and moroseness, English brutality, and even the absence of the artistic and especially of the musical instinct. These facts Dr. Kelly has diligently assembled and clearly and convincingly set forth in his monograph, basing his conclusions on abundant and well-selected material.

The name of Goethe, curiously enough, appears only twice, although his opinions of the English have not long since been collected and published. Again, something might have been said of Germans or German-Swiss, like Füseli, Sir Joshua Reynolds's successor in the Royal Academy, who settled in England and rose to prominence there. The generosity shown such foreigners can hardly have failed to impress their friends at home. More serious is Dr. Kelly's failure to affiliate German anglomania of the eighteenth century with the great European movements of the time. Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais* are not even mentioned, and one looks in vain for the name of Montesquieu. Thus German anglomania appears as a provincial whim, whereas, as a matter of fact, it came about under the sway of a great international urge. England, in the seventeenth century less interesting to the Continent than even Sweden, in consequence of the glowing descriptions of the liberality of English political institutions and religious toleration, found in the letters of French Huguenots exiled after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, suddenly assumed peak importance to the generation of Bayle, just then preparing to throw off the shackles of feudalism, Jesuitism, and artificiality in literature and art. And something like a "myth of noble England" spread in all countries, an interesting compound of sound truth and fantastic exaggeration.

Yet, in spite of these omissions, Dr. Kelly's monograph furnishes welcome material for a better appreciation of Germany's part in limning that picture of England which did so much to overthrow an oppressive creed outworn.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

Robespierre, Terroriste. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 191, 4 fr.) The volume contains seven essays, entitled "Robespierre, Terroriste"; "Le Banquier Boyd et ses Amis"; "Le Carnet de Robespierre"; "Les Notes de Robespierre contre les Dantonistes"; "Danton et Durand"; "Les deux Versions du Procès des Hébertistes"; "Pourquoi nous sommes Robespierristes". The first six had appeared during the years 1918–1920, in the *Annales Révolutionnaires*, the official publication of the Société des Études Robespierristes. The last appeared in the *Grande Revue*, and served as the first of two addresses given at the École des Hautes Études Sociales, in 1920. The first essay in this series of studies served as the second lecture.

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Mathiez has worked on the history of Robespierre during a period of twenty years and has published several important books and many valuable articles on this subject. His thesis is that Robespierre was the greatest statesman of the French Revolution, and that the so-called reign of terror was necessary to save the Republic. The experiences of the recent war have confirmed him and his fellow-members of the Société des Études Robespierristes, which was founded in 1908, in the soundness of their position. The severe measures adopted by the French government during the late war were less justified than those of the reign of terror. More men were actually shot who afterwards were found innocent of the charges made against them, than were put to death during the reign of terror. During the Revolution the government worked upon a more democratic basis. The accused received a more careful and fair trial. The National Convention remained in session, and the regular—the civil—courts properly functioned. During the late war, however, the legislative bodies did not meet for months at a time, and the civil courts were limited in their powers. The administrative and military courts were in control. Illegal measures were less justified when the country was united. During the reign of terror the internal dissensions threatened the government with civil war. Not only was the very existence of the French Republic at stake, but the cause of democracy itself was on trial. The reign of terror has been greatly exaggerated, and Robespierre's part in it misrepresented. His influence was consistently in favor of moderation. It was the extremists who plotted his death. During his lifetime and for fifty years thereafter the name Robespierre was synonymous with the word democracy. His teachings are a vital political and social force to-day. We may learn from him the meaning of true democracy. One of the objects of the Société des Études Robespierristes is the promulgation of the democratic conception of Robespierre.

CARL CHRISTOPHELSMEIER.

Sir Francis d'Ivernois, 1757–1842: sa Vie, son Oeuvre et son Temps. Par Otto Karmin. (Geneva, Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, 1920, pp. xv, 730, 15 fr.) This is an elaborate biography of a character who played an important part in European politics in the period of revolution and restoration, and whose activities were marked with distinction by more than one government. Starting as an agitator for the freedom of Geneva from the domination of France and of local aristocracy, he suffered exile in the first disasters of that movement, but eventually he was called into the counsels of the allied powers, and afterward occupied high official position in his native country.

As a publicist his writings on political and economic questions attracted such wide attention that his views were either sought or opposed, not only in Switzerland, but in England, France, Russia, and

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Spain, while his historical reviews of conditions in his own day furnish valuable material for the investigator of that period.

Picturesque, in fact, are some of the plans which he advanced for the relief of Geneva from reactionary control. One was a colony of the oppressed to be planted under the British flag at Waterford, Ireland. The corner-stone was laid but the scheme met with political opposition, as well as internal difficulties, and came to naught. Thoughts of going to Canada, likewise, had no result, and the events of the French Revolution swept him into their current.

His acts and his writings on the revolutionary movement in Geneva marked him for reactionary attack, and it was in the depths of this that he proposed to move the whole University of Geneva to America. The story of his connection with Jefferson and others in this enterprise has been frequently related, but interesting light is furnished by a long letter to Adams, here printed, in which complete details of the proposed organization are given. The author rather belittles the importance of the scheme and magnifies the coolness of the Americans, but the documents quoted do not warrant such an attitude.

For his services as diplomatic agent and financial adviser, d'Ivernois received from the English government the title which gives the rather unusual combination in his name. His pecuniary rewards were not large, and the connection subjected him to attack by the parliamentary opposition. The importance of the public matters in which he was engaged is revealed in the extensive bibliography appended to this work. The wide international character of his labors justifies this biographical account of the history of the period.

J. M. VINCENT.

David Urquhart: Some Chapters in the Life of a Victorian Knight-Errant of Justice and Liberty. By Gertrude Robinson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xii, 328, $5.00.) David Urquhart was one of those Englishmen who go crusading for oppressed peoples and forlorn causes. A volunteer in the Greek war of independence, he was later appointed secretary of embassy at Constantinople, where, by learning Turkish and adopting the Turkish manner of living, he won the confidence of the Porte, and negotiated the draft of a commercial treaty with terms very favorable to England. But his chiefs did not take kindly to his methods, dispensed with his services, and accepted a less advantageous treaty. Urquhart attributed his dismissal to Russian intrigues. Henceforth he regarded the Slavic power as the enemy of European civilization, which it aimed to undermine by revolution as the prelude to Russian domination. For forty years Russia played in Urquhart's mind the rôle that a later generation assigned to Germany, and he repeatedly urged the necessity of a European combination to resist the advance of Muscovite diplomacy.

To his contemporaries Urquhart was a strange figure. He believed

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Palmerston to be a Russian agent. He opposed the Crimean War, arguing that the Turks were more than a match for their enemies, but were being made the tools of England and France. With the policy of Cavour he had no sympathy, and he devoted infinite energy to the cause of the papacy, whose aid he invoked, at the Vatican Council, for the rehabilitation of public law. Urquhart, in short, set himself against all the great movements of his century, without being able, in spite of his remarkable knowledge of European politics and an active propaganda, to stem the march of events.

Yet he is an interesting figure. An ardent champion of justice between nations, he was ever protesting against international wrongdoing, displaying all the idealism of Woodrow Wilson. His effort to organize foreign affairs committees among English workingmen anticipated by half a century the Union of Democratic Control; in his detestation of secret diplomacy he was the forerunner of E. D. Morel; his exposition of the connection between national prosperity, diplomacy, and war has some resemblance to the teaching of Norman Angell. He early perceived the danger latent in Prussian statecraft, and he predicted a European conflagration unless a limit were set to increasing armaments.

Miss Robinson has written, not a full-fledged biography of this remarkable man, but a series of studies of his varied activities, in a tone of exhalted enthusiasm that at times becomes oppressive; nor is the material, much of which is new, always well organized. But if she recognizes the mysticism, the obsession of Russia, the faults of temper which often handicapped his work, she leaves no doubt that he was unappreciated by a materialistic age. Her account supplements rather than replaces the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

BERNARDOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Ledru-Rollin après 1848 et les Proscrits Français en Angleterre. Par Alvin R. Calman, A.B., M.A. (Paris, F. Rieder et Cie., 1921, pp. 306, 15 fr.) In the history of French republicanism the brief and troubled career of the Second Republic is as instructive as the more solid achievements of the Third Republic. In France a group of scholars has been making the history of the Revolution of 1848 and of the Second Republic a special field of investigation. The present volume is not the first evidence that American scholars also are working fruitfully in this field. The author's principal theme is the long exile of Ledru-Rollin, minister of the interior in the February government, candidate for the presidency of the Republic, and later leader of the Montagnard party in the assembly. He also deals with the other French exiles in England, chiefly in their relations with Ledru. He has faced the difficult task—and, be it said, successfully—of keeping the reader's interest in a sequence of futile efforts on the part of the exile Montagnard to retain the leadership of his party, and to have a positive influence upon the development of republicanism in France. Ledru was incapable of ex-

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ercising an apostolate under such disadvantages, because he was not a constructive thinker, but, as the author points out, an opportunist, with a weakness in the direction of versatility. His power lay in the spoken word. Mr. Calman compares him to two other great tribunes, Danton and Gambetta. It is impossible to say whether the comparison is just, for Ledru never had the opportunity which momentous circumstances offered to each of the other men.

Twice while in exile Ledru-Rollin entertained the chimerical idea of using the United States as a lever to force on the revolutionary movement in Europe. The first occasion was coincident with the *Black Warrior* affair and the Ostend Manifesto. Mr. Calman quotes a letter from Ledru to George N. Sanders, American consul general at London, suggesting that the United States pledge its support to the Spanish republicans, braving the risks of war with the old European governments, but expecting that Cuba, out of gratitude, as well as influenced by contiguity, would voluntarily apply for annexation. The second time was after the Civil War, when the Federal government was about to bring pressure upon Napoleon III. to withdraw support from Maximilian. Ledru drew up the project of a letter to President Lincoln, modestly requesting the Americans to finance the European revolutionists. America would thus emancipate the democracy of the Old World, and repay the debt owed to France since 1783.

A special word of praise is due to the bibliography which the author has appended to his work. It is not a mere list of sources and secondary works, but contains brief characterizations wherever these are appropriate. Among the periodicals and journals, he distinguishes between those which he has examined throughout and those to which his attention has been more cursory. The student who uses his work, therefore, knows exactly what its documentation is.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Der Missverstandene Bismarck. Von Otto Hammann. (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1921, pp. 204.) To his earlier volumes of reminiscence, *Der Neue Kurs* (1918), *Zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges* (1918), and *Um den Kaiser* (1919), Hammann has added a no less interesting and valuable little volume explaining how Bismarck's successors for twenty years misunderstood and mismanaged the inheritance which he left them in 1890. Germany was then dominant in Europe by her Triple Alliance, by her secret insurance from Russia, and by the painful isolation of France and the splendid isolation of England. After 1890 the balance began slowly to change, until, by 1914, Germany in turn stood isolated, weighed down by her Austrian liability, half deserted by Italy, and encircled by the Triple Entente. The great error, Hammann thinks, was not, however, what has been so often reiterated—the breaking down of the wire between Berlin and Petrograd and the permitting the Franco-Russian Alliance to come into being. Though Bis-

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marck had always averted this unpleasant development, it was, Hammann thinks, inevitable, with the growing national antagonisms of Slav and Teuton. The great error lay in exaggerating Bismarck's supposed insistence on good relations with Russia, and in rejecting, in consequence, the English hand held out on several occasions between 1898 and 1901. Here was where the true Bismarck was fatally misunderstood. Bismarck had always recognized the decisive weight of England's influence whenever it should be cast into the European balance. For that reason he had tried to avoid coming into conflict with English colonial and commercial interests. In 1887, when Bulgarian complications in the Balkans, and Boulanger in France, made Germany's security seem a little less secure, with the possibility of an eventual war on two fronts, the wily chancellor did not hesitate to write to Lord Salisbury seeking an English alliance. Salisbury's distrust and British conservatism rendered the German move futile, but it revealed Bismarck's true policy and showed that, as usual, he had a wise eye to windward. After 1890 it was all the more important that his successors should have understood this. But they did not. And the persons whom Hammann holds chiefly responsible were the kaiser, with his unwise naval policy and his unhappy interferences in diplomacy, and Holstein, with his super-suspicious theories and finesse. Though Bülow was chancellor during the period of England's evolution from isolation into the Triple Entente, Hammann does not think Bülow, for whom he has much admiration, was primarily responsible. From his official position at the time as press agent in the German Foreign Office, Hammann is able to reveal many new and interesting details about what went on behind the scenes in the Wilhelmstrasse. This volume, written from a German point of view but with much moderation and fairness, embodies some of the material in his earlier volumes, but casts it into a more systematic form and modifies it on the basis of the new material which has been published since they were written.

S. B. F.

Das Ausland im Weltkrieg: seine innere Entwicklung seit 1914. Band I. (Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1920, pp. 443.) In 1919 there was given, under the auspices of the University of Halle, a series of lectures on the History of Foreign States since 1914. This course covered almost all of the European states existing in 1914, with a lecture on the present Austria—really a history of the Germans in Austria—and one on International Socialism. These lectures, somewhat recast and amplified, form the present volume.

The course was apparently planned to give a university audience some knowledge of recent history and of the situation existing in the various European states outside of Germany at the time it was given. Much water has passed the mill since 1919, and the book suffers accordingly. The circumstances of their delivery prevented any deep or detailed treatment; the obvious aim has been to present the general lines

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of development, and to explain the course of events. But the lectures are always suggestive and will be certainly informing to all but the most thorough students of recent history. The lecturers were chosen, with one exception, from the staffs of the German universities, and the choice seems to have been made with care and skill. The dangers from national bias, so easy in the treatment of recent events, seem to have been, in the main, avoided.

American students will probably find those chapters of especial value which are devoted to the history of the smaller European states, in view of the difficulty of securing exact information regarding them. Relatively, these chapters are probably better than those devoted to the larger powers, since it is easier, for many reasons, for a German lecturer to give, in a brief period, a clear and unbiassed account of Sweden than of England. As a whole, however, the book will fill a useful place in the library of one who has interest in the recent past of Europe. Always suggestive, often informing, this volume represents sound scholarship and a real attempt to tell the truth without prejudice or emotion. And the idea of such a course as that given at the University of Halle is one to be commended to all American institutions of learning.

MASON W. TYLER.

Serbia and Europe, 1914–1920. Edited with a preface by Dr. L. Marcovitch, Professor in the University of Belgrade, Member of the Serbian Peace Delegation in Paris. (New York, Macmillan Company; London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1921, pp. xv, 355, $5.00.) This volume consists of a collection of 125 articles, originally published in the Serbian government's organ, *La Serbie* (Geneva, Switzerland), between the years 1916 and 1919. The editor considers it "an attempt to exhibit the whole policy of Serbia during the war", and to give "full information about the chief points of Serbian policy and the ideal which has guided us in our national struggle" (p. v). A little more than half of the articles come from the pen of the editor, L. Marcovitch, and there are contributions from such writers on Jugoslavia as Novakovitch, Kuhne, Reiss, Vosnjak, Voinovitch, Popovitch, and Kossitch.

The book is an able defense of Serbian foreign policy viewed strictly from the Serbian (at times, according to the writer, from a Great Serbian) point of view. But one would be doing the collection an injustice if he were to disparage its historical value for that reason. Some of the matter here presented is valuable historical material, some of it clever propaganda. This is in the nature of the case. But both will be valuable to the future historian, and particularly to one who cannot have access to the complete files of *La Serbie*. He will, however, want to refer to these ultimately, and to such other Jugoslav organs as, for instance, the *Southern Slav Bulletin*. The historian must seek more fundamental material than is here offered, but he will be able to find clues to documents as yet unpublished.

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Particularly valuable is the splendid article by the Serbian historian Novakovitch, on "Serbia and the European War" (pp. 7–11), in which not only moderation but true historical insight are shown. The best material for the historian is to be found in the chapters on Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, where frequently the authors write from first-hand material. Though often bitterly written—something which is to be expected under the circumstances—they cast much light on hitherto obscure points. Here the historian will find a number of important clues which it will pay to follow up.

No future historian, no matter how much he may disagree with Serbia's policy, will be able to obscure the imperishable record in which, "betrayed by King Constantine's Greece, abandoned by Roumania, in spite of the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, Serbia preferred her Calvary of Albania and wandering exile to the acceptance of a shameful peace" (p. 336).

ROBERT J. KERNER.

La Bataille devant Souville. Par Henri Bordeaux, de l'Académie Française. [Les Cahiers de la Victoire.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 243, 7 fr.) *La Bataille devant Souville* is the second part of that interesting trilogy by Henri Bordeaux which recalls the tragic and glorious days of the defense of Verdun. The first and the third have already appeared under the titles *Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux* and *Captifs Délivrés.* We have thus a consecutive narrative, of high literary quality and of real historical worth, of one of the most thrilling episodes in the annals of modern warfare.

Few men were better qualified than Henri Bordeaux to undertake this task. A writer of distinction, who has met personally the principal actors of the great drama, who visited every mile of the shell-torn battlefield and witnessed many of the military operations of that period, could not fail to produce a work of genuine merit.

The book is divided into two sections. The first, combining in a remarkable degree the qualities of the litterateur and of the historian, gives a moving and dramatic description, but historically accurate throughout, of the repeated assaults against the last fort which stood in the way of the German forces in their march to Verdun. The second section is a valuable military document, presenting, with a most instructive wealth of detail, the whole plan of German and French operations about the coveted city.

Satisfactory though it be from the point of view of the general reader, this work, like all the others so far published, is rather a disappointment to the soldier who has lived those trying days as a combatant. M. Bordeaux himself would admit that it is well-nigh impossible to draw a true picture of the appalling scenes of destruction and of carnage that took place on the banks of the Meuse, and impossible as well, adequately to describe the tenacity, the endurance, the courage,

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and the heroism of the struggling hosts of young men of both nations. Only a Dante, become an historian, could do justice to the battle of Verdun.

PAUL PERIGORD.

Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw. Door Dr. J. Feenstra Kuiper. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1921, pp. xx, 330, 9.60 gld.) Even well-read Americans often cherish the belief that Admiral Perry opened to the world a hermetically sealed kingdom when his cannon knocked so rudely at Japan's portals in 1853. But this, like most highly dramatic versions of history, is only relatively true. Doctor Kuiper's volume is an exhaustive study of one period of Holland's commerce with Japan, which continued practically uninterrupted from the expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in 1624, until our arrival. The book is intended to fill the gap between Nachod's *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ost-Indischen Compagnie zu Japan im 17ten Jahrhundert* and Van der Chÿs's *Neerlands Streven tot Openstelling van Japan voor de Wereldhandel,* and records an interesting and not unimportant chapter in the history of Far Eastern commerce.

Incidentally, the book contains a competent study of Japan in the eighteenth century, based not only upon already familiar sources in the Japanese and European languages, but also upon Holland's rich archive materials. The author has grouped his text into four sections: the world without Japan in the eighteenth century, particularly the world of regulated trade and the commercial companies doing business in the Orient; the Japanese world of the same period, including its social, political, and religious as well as its economic institutions and customs; a history of trade between Holland and Japan; contemporary knowledge of Japan in Europe; and contemporary knowledge of Europe in Japan. An excellent classified bibliography, several statistical appendixes, giving data upon the currency, and the character, volume, and value of merchandise handled, shipping-lists, an index, and seven contemporary Japanese illustrations of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki and ceremonial incidents in the intercourse of the two nations, conclude the volume.

Most of the new material is in the 135 pages describing the operations of the Dutch company in Japan. What is told of the organization and methods of the company will be familiar to students of eighteenth-century colonial commerce. But the diplomatic aspects of the company's activities are more novel. Particularly prophetic was the intense curiosity which the Japanese of that period displayed in respect to the practical knowledge and arts of the West. Even the *shogun* sometimes disguised himself and mingled informally with the Dutch delegations visiting Yeddo. There is much that is picturesque and entertaining interspersed with the solid information which the book contains.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

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Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern. Edited with an Historical Introduction and an English Translation by Vincent H. Todd, Ph.D., University of Illinois, in co-operation with Julius Goebel, Ph.D., Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Illinois. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh, the Commission, 1920, pp. 434.) In this volume Dr. Todd gives us in his historical introduction a very satisfactory and complete account of the first German colony that reached North Carolina, in the year 1710. In the opening chapters of the book the author traces the causes that led to the great German exodus of the year 1709, when between 10,000 and 15,000 German emigrants came to England. He shows that this German emigration coincided with a Swiss colonization scheme, of which Francis Louis Michel and George Ritter were the chief promoters. In May, 1710, the George Ritter Land Company was formed, and under its auspices 650 Palatines and about 120 Swiss settlers were sent to North Carolina. On the basis of Graffenried's accounts, the author traces the journey of these colonists to North Carolina, their settlement at the junction of the Trent and Neuse rivers, their trying experiences and pitiful condition in their new settlement, and finally the massacre of many of the settlers by the Indians in the fall of 1711. Through the failure of his associates Graffenried was forced to leave North Carolina in September, 1712, and the colony was left to its own fate.

Part III. of the introduction treats of the Graffenried manuscripts. In this section of his book the author is less satisfactory, for he gives but a fragmentary and incomplete statement. We hear nothing about the exact location, extent, and condition of the manuscripts, although Professor A. B. Faust, of Cornell University, in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives,* published in 1916, has given an exact and detailed account as to where the originals are found, and what their relation to each other is.

In the main part of the book Dr. Todd publishes the complete German text of Graffenried's account of his adventures, together with a good English translation, and also parts of the French text (with translation) which differ from the Yverdun MS., published in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina.* Whether it was necessary to print these texts, after both had before been printed in full by Professor Faust, may well be questioned, especially in view of the fact that Professor Faust's publication is the more accurate.

Dr. Todd concludes his book with a useful glossary of the more difficult Swiss words, which will prove very helpful to those who wish to read the original. A detailed index adds much to the value of the book.

Papers of the American Society of Church History. Edited by Frederick William Loetscher, Secretary. Second series, volume VI.

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(New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. xxxvi, 240.) In addition to minutes and reports of meetings, the sixth volume of *Papers of the American Society of Church History* contains four valuable contributions to knowledge. A presidental address by Edward Payson Johnson, on Protestant Missionary Work among the Indians in the eighteenth century, on the part of Dutch Reformed, Congregationalists, Moravians, and Friends, serves to correct the popular notion of a lack of missionary zeal in colonial times. This interesting summary excites desire for a complete and detailed monograph. The social character of the good old days may be measured partly by the conflict between these missions and the missionary interests of traders and exploiters. Professor Johnson has not used the correspondence of Jonathan Edwards. From another source he alleges that John Sergeant, the missionary at Housatonic, "in three years began to preach in the Indian tongue, and two years later had so far mastered it that the Indians often said: 'Our minister speaks our language better than we can speak it'". On the other hand, Edwards (Dwight's *Life*, p. 523) writes that "Mr. Sergeant, after fourteen years' study, had never been able to preach in it, nor even to pray in it except by a form, and had often expressed the opinion that his successor ought not to trouble himself in learning the language." The profitable question as to lack of missionary results is not unrelated to some details of this sort.

Another presidential address, by Professor David Schaff, on the Council of Constance: its Fame and its Failure, is an admirable expansion of the general student's knowledge with an interesting discussion of the significance of the council in the perspectives of church history.

The most extensive and original contribution is by William O. Shewmaker, on the Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America, before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries. This important paper exhibits the curriculum and method of Dutch and English universities and of the American colleges to the end of the eighteenth century. A fresh fact brought to light is the remarkable participation of ministers in the science of medicine.

The final paper, by Professor Patrick J. Healy, on Recent Activities of Catholic Historians, is an invaluable guide to the knowledge of periodical literature, source and documentary publication, and treatises of eminence from scholars of the Roman church. May it rouse the emulation of Protestants.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Edited by Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Society. Volume XXIV. (Buffalo, the Society, 1920, pp. x, 415, $4.00.) The volume under review is devoted principally to a History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, by Frederick Houghton. The Buffalo Creek Reservation was located along the stream of that name, within the limits of what is now the city of Buffalo

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and adjacent parts of Erie County. The tract was the largest of several parcels of land reserved by the Seneca Indians, in 1797, when they sold their remaining holdings in western New York to Robert Morris acting on behalf of the Holland Land Company, so-called.

From archaeological investigations made by him, the author concludes that the region was, in the early part of the seventeenth century, occupied by the Wenroes, an Iroquoian tribe. Soon after that date the Wenroes were defeated and scattered by the Senecas, who, by the end of the same century, had come into possession of the whole of western New York. Upon the destruction of the Seneca towns along the Genesee and in the Finger Lakes district by Sullivan's expedition, in 1779, the refugees fled to the Niagara frontier and a considerable number joined their fellow-tribesmen on the banks of Buffalo Creek, where the white land-agents found them in 1797. The study reviews the steps by which the jurisdiction of the Seneca lands passed to New York, and the title to the soil, save for the reservations, to Phelps and Gorham, Robert Morris, and the Holland Company.

For two decades the reservation at Buffalo Creek was the home of the largest group of the Senecas as well as of groups from other Iroquoian tribes, and a few Algonquins. As early as 1810 the project of a removal to western lands was agitated among the Senecas, and lands were provided for them by the United States government, first in Wisconsin and later in the Indian Territory. By treaties ratified in 1838 and 1842 the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations were sold to grantees of the Holland Company, leaving to the Indians only the Alleghany and Cattaraugus reservations, which are still in the possession of their descendants.

The study is the narrative of a stage in the eclipse of a once-powerful people and of an episode in the acquisition of the soil of western New York by the white man. The work bears evidence of original research, especially with respect to the archaeology of the region, though there is an absence of specific citations of authorities.

FRANK G. BATES.

History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821–1921. By Rev. John H. Lamott, S.T.D., Licencié ès Sciences Morales et Historiques, Louvain. (Cincinnati, Frederick Pustet Company, 1921, pp. xxiii, 430, $4.00.) This commemorative volume is a distinct contribution to the religious history of the United States. The subject-matter is in itself important, for the diocese of Cincinnati at one time comprised the entire Old Northwest, and its development therefore coincides with the expansion of population into that region.

The author very wisely has regarded the archdiocese as a unit, not merely as an aggregate of local parishes, and thus, while making an effort to include the names of all who have had a part in the work of building up the church during the past century, he has relegated these

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lists of names to a well-arranged appendix instead of allowing them to encumber the narrative. The first part of the book gives a brief sketch of the four bishops and archbishops who have occupied the see; the second, which contains some very good maps, follows the changes in its geographical boundaries; and the third summarizes the social and educational work that has been accomplished. The treatment, therefore, is chronological, geographical, and institutional. In accounting for the remarkable growth of the Roman Catholic Church during the half-century following the organization of the diocese, such human agencies as railroads, canals, and highways are taken into consideration, and the growth of that church at certain periods is compared with the development of other denominations.

The book throughout gives evidence of critical scholarship and of the fair-mindedness of a trained historian. The author has rendered a real service in correcting erroneous statements found in earlier church histories, such, for instance, as the oft-repeated assertion that an ordinance of the city of Cincinnati compelled the Catholics to build their first church in the diocese outside the city limits. After diligent search through municipal records no evidence that such an ordinance had ever been passed could be discovered, and the author therefore reaches the conclusion that the choice of a site outside the city must have been dictated by other considerations. Equally fair-minded is the discussion of the financial catastrophe which overwhelmed the archdiocese in the 1870's and of the bankruptcy proceedings growing out of it. Indeed, the entire chapter on ecclesiastical property casts much light upon a phase of American history which is not generally understood. The bibliography includes secular as well as religious sources, and the book is provided with an excellent index.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

The University of Michigan. By Wilfred Shaw, General Secretary of the Alumni Association, and Editor of the *Michigan Alumnus.* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. 349, $4.00.) This handsome volume is not designed by the author as a history of the University of Michigan, but as a general survey of the university's development. The intent has been to set forth the chief incidents, personalities, efforts, and enterprises in the past life of this notable seat of learning.

The volume deals with the foundation of the university, its early days and first administrations, of Presidents Tappan, Haven, Angell, and Hutchins, and with C. K. Adams, Andrew D. White, Henry S. Frieze, Charles Gayley, Elisha Jones, the Cooleys, and other great teachers who have given Michigan standing and fame in the university world. The author reveals to his readers the life of town and campus, the student activities, the fraternities, the work of the professional schools, and athletics; due consideration is also given to the services of the alumni, and the work of the university in times of war. The volume

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is a highly creditable tribute to Mr. Shaw's alma mater, written in an attractive style, well executed and well printed, and it will, no doubt, be received by all former students of Michigan with deep appreciation. The volume is well indexed, and its copious illustrations will recall many pleasant scenes and happy days to the many men and women who have had the privilege of spending their college days in Ann Arbor..

J. A. W.

The Story of Chautauqua. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, D.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. xxv, 429, $2.50.) The "Chautauqua Movement", inaugurated in 1873 by Lewis Miller and Dr. John H. Vincent, layman and clergyman respectively of the Methodist Episcopal Church, under the auspices of the Sunday-School Board of that denomination, has been one of the most interesting and typical developments in American religious and cultural life of the last half-century and is worthy of serious attention from students of American history. The present volume, by Bishop Vincent's successor, is the reminiscent story of one who has had a leading part in the conduct of the "movement" since 1875. It abounds in anecdotes, in kindly personalities, and in realistic accounts of meetings, events, and occasions, although in the later chapters, where considerations of space have evidently made themselves felt, the style becomes rather annalistic.

The meetings at Chautauqua had their origin in an effort to advance religious education in the Sunday-school through the intensive training of teachers. They were, in their field and time, a sort of prototype of the "Plattsburg idea". The broadening of their scope and purpose was rapid; in 1878 the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was organized, the first book prescribed for reading being John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People*. In the following year the summer schools for secular instruction were inaugurated, and the practice of securing distinguished lecturers on historical, literary, scientific, and other topics received that extension which has made it one of the chief characteristics of the Chautauqua programme. Later, other assemblies, to the number of nearly a hundred, came into being in different parts of the country. All were modelled more or less closely upon the original Chautauqua and some were loosely affiliated with it. Most of them have now disappeared and their places have been taken by the "Chautauqua circuits" which form the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association. These extraneous developments, however, have no organic connection with the original Chautauqua and are passed over lightly as being outside the scope of the author's story.

It would be unfair to examine a book of this type too closely for the accuracy of all its statements of fact. Doubtless it is adequate, but the reader is, nevertheless, a little disturbed to find in the first chapter that Étienne Brûlé was on the Ohio in 1615, which would have made him the discoverer of that river, and to learn that La Salle was

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on Lake Chautauqua in 1630, which was thirteen years before he was born. However, the student will not use the volume as a repertory of facts; for him its chief and great value will consist in its authoritative rendering of the atmosphere and spirit of the Chautauqua institution, especially in its earlier days.

W. G. L.

The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660–1688: a Study of the Foundations of the Old Colonial System. By C. S. S. Higham, M.A. (Cambridge, the University Press, 1921, pp. xiii, 266, $9.00.) This elaborate and scholarly account of the Leeward Islands in the reign of Charles II. will be welcomed by students of colonial policy and the history of British trade. Readers who have already succumbed to romantic prepossessions about Caribbee Islands will perhaps be vexed at its prosaic tenor, as Henry Adams was vexed at Tahiti for being a real place. The Leeward Islands in the seventeenth century were assuredly not the "western islands" of Apollo's bards, but struggling frontier communities, whose invincible parochialism stood in the way of progress. They existed in a wobbling equilibrium between Devil and deep sea: between intense localism and dangerous isolation; between danger from the Indians and danger from the French; between the interests of the merchants and those of the planters; between the islands' governors—often the unworthy favorites of unworthy ministers—and the well-meaning interference of the Lords of Trade, whose point of view was at best English and at worst European.

The first half of the book is mainly devoted to the complications ensuing to the islands from European wars and alliances. Of these complications the most important is the experience of St. Christopher, whose division between France and England led to experiments in neutrality and internationalization not without interest to-day.

Chapters on the Caribs, the labor problem, sugar, and the government of the islands make up the second and weightier part of the book. In general, the Restoration policies of more stringent governmental and legal supervision with stricter control of trade, which set their mark on the seaboard colonies to the north, were followed also in the case of the Leeward Islands. On the part of the islands there is the same expertness in protest and evasion. After the lamentable failure of Sir Charles Wheler, the government of the islands fell by good fortune to Sir William Stapleton, whose memory is here deservedly rescued from oblivion. He was a genial Irish soldier of fortune, picturesque in speech, and blessed with so rare an administrative gift that he was able to govern four islands for fourteen years not only acceptably to the islanders but to the satisfaction of the home authorities as well.

For his materials Mr. Higham has ransacked the Record Office and the great manuscript collections in England, and has discovered a few *disjecta membra* in private possession. The mass of his facts comes

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from official correspondence, Treasury and trade statistics, and the records of the Royal African Company. With the exceptions of the *Calendar of State Papers,* the *Acts of Assembly* of the islands, and a few fairly recent works on the West Indies and on colonial policy, there is little in print, as a carefully annotated bibliography shows, to aid research on His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands. If material has eluded Mr. Higham it must be in French archives and libraries, or perhaps in the islands themselves.

Readers will be appreciative of the prefatory Geographical Note, which offers a few remarks on the position and topography of the islands, and emphasizes the importance of the northeast trade-wind in the history of the Antilles, recalling the fact—obvious but easy to forget—that the sail from Jamaica to St. Kitts is not at all the same thing in time and distance as the sail from St. Kitts to Jamaica. Readers will be sorry that Mr. Higham's sketch-maps are not more informative, *i. e.,* more detailed.

There are a few trifling slips: the Triple Alliance between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden was formed in 1668, not 1670 (p. 29); the Dutch were expelled from Brazil in 1644–1654, not 1661 (p. 36); on p. 191, line 32, "imported" should read *imposed.*

VIOLET BARBOUR.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

It would be a great favor if persons having copies of the number of this journal for October, 1920, which they do not need to retain would give or sell them to the managing editor.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in St. Louis, December 28–30. The Programme Committee, Professor E. B. Greene, 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Illinois, chairman, announces tentatively the following outline of the programme: The meeting will open on Wednesday morning, December 28, at ten o'clock, with four conferences—of history teachers, of archivists, on medieval history, and on agricultural history. On Wednesday afternoon there will be a general session on the history of France at which papers will be read by professors F. M. Fling, A. L. Guérard, E. W. Dow, C. D. Hazen, and Mr. Bernard Faÿ. The presidential address will be delivered by President Jusserand on Wednesday evening. On Thursday morning there will be three conferences—on ancient history, on modern European history, and on the recent history of the United States; in the afternoon three other conferences will be held on economic history, on military history, and on the history of the American Revolution. In the evening there will be a general session commemorating the Missouri centennial, at which papers will be read by Messrs. A. J. Beveridge, F. W. Lehman, H. B. Learned, and F. C. Shoemaker. On Friday morning there will be a conference on the history of civilization and the usual annual conference of historical societies. On Friday noon there will be a number of luncheon-conferences, of which the following are now announced: the Far East, English institutional history, Hispanic American history, history of the Great War, history of science, and colonial history. The annual business meeting of the Association will be held at 3:30 in the afternoon. The final session will be held jointly with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on Friday evening; it will be devoted to the economic history of the Mississippi Valley and there will be papers by Mrs. N. M. M. Surrey, and Professors Cardinal Goodwin, H. L. Kohlmeier, and L. B. Shippee.

Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1918 of the American Historical Association is promised by the Government Printing Office for immediate distribution. The *Annual Report* for 1919 is in press.

Writings on American History, 1918, compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, has been printed as a supplementary volume to the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1918. A limited number of copies is at the dis-

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posal of the Association and will be distributed to members upon request, addressed to the Assistant Secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL

Joseph Reinach, French journalist, diplomat, and historian, died on the 18th of April, 1921, at the age of sixty-five. He has been an important figure since the days of Thiers. He was secretary to Gambetta and was his collaborator, confidant, and literary executor. In addition to his public services as deputy from 1889 to 1897, as vice-president of the Army Commission in 1906 and 1910, as an officer on the staff of General Galliéni, and as one of the chief promotors of the revision of the Dreyfus case, he was a historian of rare gifts. Among his important publications were *Le Ministère Gambetta, Histoire et Doctrine* (1882); *La Vie Politique de Léon Gambetta* (1918); *Discours et Plaidoyers,* being the collected works of Gambetta in eleven volumes (1881–1885); *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (6 vols., 1901–1908). During the Great War he was contributor to the *Figaro* under the nom de plume "Polybe".

James P. Baxter, Litt.D., president since 1890 of the Maine Historical Society and since 1899 of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, author and editor of numerous volumes relating to the early history of Maine and of New England, died in Portland, Maine, on May 8, aged ninety years.

John W. Jordan, LL.D., librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania since 1888 and editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* died on June 11 at the age of eighty.

Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University, a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review,* sailed on September 3 for Russia, to take part in the work of the American Relief Administration in that country.

Dr. Julius Klein, associate professor of Latin-American history in Harvard University, now on leave of absence, has been appointed director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce.

Dr. James O. Knauss, former associate professor of history in Pennsylvania State College, has been appointed professor of history and political science in the Florida College for Women, Tallahassee.

Baron Sergius A. Korff has accepted a professorship of political science in the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and will deliver during the coming winter courses on modern European history, Russian history, the Science of Government, and the History of Diplomatic Usages and Procedure.

Mr. R. D. W. Connor has resigned as secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission to become Kenan Professor of History in the

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University of North Carolina. He has been succeeded by Dr. D. H. Hill, who has been at work on a history of North Carolina in the Civil War, on the R. H. Ricks Foundation, under the auspices of the Historical Commission.

Professor D. C. Schilling of Monmouth College, Illinois, has accepted an appointment as professor of history in the Michigan State Normal College of Kalamazoo.

Dr. Everett S. Brown, lecturer in history at Stanford University, has been appointed assistant professor of political science in the University of Michigan.

The following promotions are announced as occurring in the department of history in the University of Minnesota: Solon J. Buck, from associate professor to a full professorship; Mason W. Tyler and Lester B. Shippee, from assistant professors to associate professors; and George M. Stephenson, from an instructor to an assistant professor.

Professor R. G. Usher of Washington University, St. Louis, remains in England during the ensuing half-year, his leave of absence having been prolonged, and is occupied with researches in English history ot the period of James I.

Dr. Henry S. Lucas, formerly an instructor in the University of Michigan, and Professor J. A. O. Larsen have been appointed assistant professors in the department of history in the University of Washington.

Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University is delivering, at the Imperial universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, a series of sixteen lectures on the diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan.

Mr. Basil Williams, editor of the series *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*, and author of the volume on Cecil Rhodes in that series, and of vol. IV. of the *Times History of the War in South Africa*, has been called to the chief professorship of history in McGill University.

GENERAL

About a hundred and fifty college presidents, professors, journalists, authors, and men and women of affairs attended the first session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. Those present for the four weeks of work were generally well impressed by the character of the work undertaken and the value of the opportunity presented. Lectures by Viscount Bryce, Baron Sergius A. Korff, Mr. Stephen Panaretoff, Count Paul Teleki, Signor Tommaso Tittoni, and Professor Achille Viallate attracted much attention and commanded a varying degree of interest. At another session the number of lectures might well be reduced, and arrangements made for a more precisely defined type of subject-matter and treatment.

By far the most useful offering of the Institute was the series of round-table conferences which, in form, somewhat resembled graduate

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seminars. Definite suggestions as to bibliographical material, reading, and study were given in advance for each meeting. A special library was available for each group of related conferences. Conference leaders usually began their sittings with a brief lecture on the subject previously announced; this exposition was frequently supplemented by special reports on certain details and on related topics worked up by the members of the conference or volunteered by some "expert". The presence of a number of "experts" gave an unusual value and interest to the general discussions that followed these reports. Not a little zest was also afforded by the participation of those who had propaganda to disseminate. Although no unrestricted opportunities were afforded for propaganda, all sides of a case received a hearing. The discussions were, on the whole, illuminating and satisfactory. Membership in the conferences was fairly homogeneous, and the personnel was well informed, so that futile debate was rare and most special pleading, however eminent the advocate, was critically appraised. The distinguished lecturers were frequent contributors to the round-table discussions. Lord Bryce, with his astonishing alertness and varied experience, was an unending source of interest at several of the conferences.

Professors A. C. Coolidge, C. H. Haskins, R. H. Lord, and Lawrence Martin conducted two conferences dealing with problems of the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Professor W. L. Westermann was a generous contributor at one of these conferences. Various aspects of international law and treaties were studied in conferences led by Professors G. G. Wilson, J. S. Reeves, and J. W. Garner. Latin America was discussed in the conference of Dr. L. S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, and economic subjects, tariffs, and reparations, in those led by Professor F. W. Taussig and Mr. Norman Davis.

On behalf of the International Union of Academies, which is about to publish the complete writings of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Professor A. Eekhof of the University of Leyden is endeavoring to locate any original letters of Grotius that may exist in American libraries and collections. Those who have any information respecting such letters are requested to communicate with Professor Eekhof, addressing him at the University of Leyden, Leyden, Holland.

The Reformed Church of Delfshaven, Holland, proposes to erect a memorial church by way of commemorating the departure of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven in 1620. A Committee for the Pilgrims' Church has been organized for the purpose of securing funds. The general agent of the committee for America is Louis P. de Boer, 5443 W. 41st Avenue, Denver, Colorado.

The Oxford Architectural and Historical Association, Ashmolean Museum, announces the theft, in April last, from the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, of the left-hand figure of the memorial brass commemorating Alderman Richard Atkinson and his two wives (six-

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teenth century). The missing figure is that of a lady, represented as wearing a Mary Stuart head-dress, ruffs at neck and wrists, a close-fitting bodice with puffed and slashed sleeves, and a skirt that hangs in seven folds. The hands are joined at the height of the breast, palms together, and fingers pointing upward. The brass is about nineteen inches high and six and one-half inches wide. Information that may lead to its recovery is desired.

The fourth number of the new *Revue de France* (May 1, 1921) is given over to a commemoration of Napoleon.

The Verband Deutscher Geschichtslehrer held its first meeting since the war on the 30th and 31st of March, in Leipzig. Professor Brandi (Göttingen) read a paper, "Geschichte als Gestaltung"; Professor Friedrich (Leipzig), "Gegenwartswert der Geschichtlichen Bildung"; Oberlehrer Wolf (Leipzig), "Forderungen der Gegenwart an den Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule".

A new historical publication has appeared in Vienna under the name of *Historische Blaetter*. It is to be a general review, with especial reference to the history of the states which composed the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Its editor is Dr. Otto H. Stowasser.

The *Journal of Negro History* for July, 1921, contains three articles: the Material Culture of Ancient Nigeria, by William L. Hansbury; the Negro in South Africa, by David A. Lane, jr.; and the Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island, by William R. Riddell. The documents printed in this issue consist of the reports of the American Convention of Abolition Societies, with appeals to Congress and addresses to the citizens of the United States.

After a break of five years, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* appears again. The last issue was vol. XXIII., nos. 1 and 2, which appeared August 6, 1914. There is no break in the enumeration of the volumes or numbers.

History for July contains papers on an Episode in Canon Law (profits in cases of partnership, the decretal *Naviganti*), by Dr. G. G. Coulton; on Social Problems in the Nineteenth Century (suggestive), by Mr. C. R. Fay; and on the Dominions and Foreign Affairs, by Professor A. F. Pollard.

A. Heilborn has published *Der Werdegang Menschheit und die Entstehung der Kultur* (Stuttgart, Bong, 1920, pp. xl, 392), by H. Klaatsch, who died in 1916. It is a work of thorough-going character, founded on anthropological and ethnographical data gathered by the author in Australia.

Primitive Society (New York, Boni and Liveright, pp. 428), by Dr. Robert H. Lowie, associate curator of the anthropological section in the American Museum of Natural History, is a successful attempt to condense into one volume of moderate compass the whole body of knowledge which investigations in all continents have accumulated in recent years.

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A Text-book of European Archaeology, by Professor R. A. S. Macalister of University College, Dublin (Cambridge University Press), will be issued in three volumes, relating respectively to the palaeolithic, neolithic, and bronze ages. Of these, vol. I. will be published this autumn.

Recent studies in *Weltgeschichte* are Rachel's *Geschichte der Völker und Kulturen vom Urbeginn bis Heute* (Berlin, Parey, 1920); Jaenicke's *Weltgeschichte mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Volkswirtschaft* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920); F. Arranz Velarde's *Compendio de Historia de la Civilización segun las Investigaciones más Recientes* (Castile, Armengot, 1920, pp. 455).

G. Batault has dealt with *Le Problème Juif: la Renaissance de l'Antisémitisme* (Paris, Plon, pp. 256), the important sections of his work being devoted to Jewish exclusivism; Judaism and the spirit of revolt; Judaism and puritanism; nationalism or assimilation. Other studies in Jewish history are by Kahn, *Die Juden als Rasse und Kulturvolk* (Berlin, Welt-Verlag, 1920), and by C. Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien* (Hamburg, Gente, 1921, pp. 97).

Two volumes of F. Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Église* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) have appeared. Volume II., *Les Pères de l'Église* (1920, pp. 532), covers the fourth and fifth centuries. The second part of vol. IX. deals with *L'Église Contemporaine* (pp. 504), and covers the period 1879–1903. Worthy of mention also is Fatien's *Petite Histoire de l'Église* (Lille, Taffin-Lefort, 1921, pp. 120).

Recent studies in political science with important historical bearings are *Le Contrôle Parlementaire de la Politique Étrangère en Angleterre, en France, et aux États-Unis* (Paris, Sagot, 1921, pp. 323), by S. R. Chow; *Die Grundlagen der Politischen Parteibildung* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. vii, 181), by W. Sulzbach; *Die Diktatur: Von den Anfängen des Modernen Souveränitätsgedankens bis zum Proletarischen Klassenkampf* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1921, pp. xv, 211), by C. Schmitt-Dorotié; *Das Problem der Souveränität und die Theorie des Völkerrechts* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920), by Kelsen.

A recent study in comparative history is J. Hatschek's *Britisches und Römisches Weltreich: eine Sozialwissenschaftliche Parallele* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. iii, 374), the first part of which deals with the civilization of sea-coast countries, his thesis being that the political characteristic of such countries is a realization that *dominium* does not lie *in imperio,* that control is not mere physical control. The second and principal section of the work makes constitutional administrative comparisons.

René Gillouin has written *Une Nouvelle Philosophie de l'Histoire Moderne,* in which he studies the philosophy of imperialism and mysticism (democratic, social, aesthetic, racial), advocating educational reform to strengthen democracy against anarchy. In this branch of thought two other books deserve mention: *Der Geist der Geschichte:*

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eine Einführung in die Geschichtswissenschaft als Anleitung zu Selbständ (Berlin, Der Firn, 1920, pp. 59), by W. Nöllenberg; and *Geschichtsphilosophie* (Kempten, Kösel, 1920), by Sawicki.

The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History, by Madison Grant, has been republished by Charles Scribner's Sons (1921, pp. xxxiii, 476, price $3.50) in a "fourth revised edition with a documentary supplement". The text is substantially the same as the original edition of 1916, which was reviewed in the issue of this journal for July, 1917 (XXII. 842–844). The chief additional matter in this latest edition is the "Documentary Supplement" (pp. 275–413), the purpose of which "is to meet an insistent demand for authorities for the statements made in the body of the book". Here are brought together references to authorities with citations from them, often of considerable length, and notes by the author in further support of statements in the text. The bibliography has been enlarged to include works published since the first edition.

Maps: their History, Characteristics, and Uses, by Sir Herbert George Fordham (Cambridge University Press), is a little volume of lectures delivered before the teachers of Cambridgeshire.

Dissertations in History and English (University of Iowa Service Bulletin, vol. V., no. 30) contains useful suggestions in the mechanics of preparing a dissertation, under these heads: aids to research, methods of note-taking, arrangement of material, foot-notes, quotations, proper names, formal bibliography, and preparation of manuscript for printer.

The Macmillan Company has published *The Lands of Silence: a History of Arctic and Antarctic Exploration,* by Sir Clements R. Markham.

The Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, by R. A. Roberts, has been issued by Macmillan as no. 22 in the series *Helps for Students of History.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. G. Wells, *History for Everybody* (Yale Review, July); H. B. Learned, *The Educational Function of the National Government* (American Political Science Review, August); Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historische Entwicklungsbegriff in der Modernen Geistes- und Lebensphilosophie,* II., *Die Marburger Schule. die Südwestdeutsche Schule, Simmel* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: P. Masson-Oursel, *Quelques Ouvrages Récents relatifs à l'Histoire du Néoplatonisme* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXI. 91–93).

An attack on the theories of Lichtenberg and Kossina, and a new theory solving the Indo-Germanic question is made by Max Neubert in *Die Dorische Wanderung in ihren Europäischen Zusammenhängen: das Prähistorische Eröffnungsstück zur Indo-Germanischen Weltgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1920).

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Les Religions de la Préhistoire: l'Age Paléolithique (de Brouwer and Picard) is a study by T. Mainage, in which he states what can be learned of the earliest religious beliefs, using the small amount of material available. *Les Survivances du Culte Impérial Romain, à-propos des Rites Shintoïstes* (Paris, Picard, 1920, pp. 73), by L. Bréhier and Mgr. Batiffol, grew out of the proposal to require officials in Japan to conform to the religion of the emperor. It is a study of the manner in which the Christians met a similar difficulty in the fourth century. This small volume gives a masterly account of the imperial cult in Rome and the relation of Christians thereto. R. Reitzenstein has revised his *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920, viii, 268), originally published in 1910. *Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte* (Christiania, Dybwad, 1920, pp. 202) is by S. Eitrem, professor of philosophy in the University of Christiania.

Das Alte Ägypten (Heidelberg, Winter, 1920) is the title of a new book by Wiedemann.

The book by L. Adametz on *Herkunst und Wanderungen der Hammiten, erschlossen aus ihren Haustierrassen* (Vienna, Verlag des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient, 1920, pp. vii, 107) is said to be the first effort to found such a work on the study of breeds of domestic animals.

C. Autran, in *Phéniciens: Essai de Contribution à l'Histoire Antique de la Méditerranée* (Paris, Geuthner, 1920, pp. xv, 146), submits the accepted theory of the origin of the Phoenicians to drastic revision. His conclusions are combatted by Professor J. H. Breasted, in a review in *Classical Philology*, XVI. p. 289.

Attention should be called to the excellent and most useful annual surveys of production in Greek and Roman history, contributed by Mr. Norman H. Baynes of University College, London, to *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, an organ of the (English) Classical Association. The latest which we have seen, that for 1918–1919, occupies pp. 97–176 in the volume for that year, published in 1920.

The *Loeb Classical Library* has been enlarged by the addition of the second volume of Mr. Godley's excellent translation of Herodotus, the tenth (of eleven) of Professor Perrin's Plutarch's *Lives*, a volume of Xenophon containing books VI. and VII. of the *Hellenica* and books I., II., and III. of the *Anabasis*, and two volumes of Apollodorus, with a large commentary by Sir James G. Frazer.

A contribution to late Byzantine literary history and to the history of Platonism is the University of Chicago dissertation of John W. Taylor on *Georgius Gemistus Pletho's Criticism of Plato and Aristotle* (Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wis., 1921).

Among recent books on Roman History may be mentioned Rosenberg's *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte* (Berlin,

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Weidmann, 1921); Grosse's *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der Byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920).

A field of much interest and importance is covered by Mr. W. E. Heitland's *Agricola: a Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour* (Cambridge University Press).

Guglielmo Ferrero, in *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique* (Paris, Plon, pp. 256), advances the theory that the final destruction of senatorial authority under Septimius Severus was the catastrophe from which the decline of the empire began. The author sees in the Great War a similar catastrophic breakdown of legitimate authority in modern civilization.

The sixth and last volume of Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1920) has appeared.

A careful treatment of ancient and medieval writing by a competent author may be found in a book by A. Mentz, *Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Schrift bis zur Erfindung des Buchdrucks mit beweglichen Lettern: ein Versuch* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1920, pp. 155).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Casson, *The Dorian Invasion Reviewed* (Antiquaries Journal, July); R. Weill, *Phéniciens, Égéens et Hellènes dans la Méditerranée Primitive* (Syria, II.); J. Kohl, *Die Homerische Frage der Chorizonten* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XLVII. 5); P. Cloché, *Le Conseil Athénien des Cinq Cents et la Peine de Mort* (Revue des Études Grecques, XXXIII. 151); E. von Stern, *Zur Beurteilung der Politischen Wirksamkeit des Tiberius und Gaius Gracchus* (Hermes, LXVI. 3); R. Laquer, *Scipio Africanus und die Eroberung von Neukarthago* (*ibid.*, no. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The following additions to the series *Translations of Christian Literature* (London, S. P. C. K.) are announced for publication this autumn: *The Dialogue of Palladius concerning the Life of Chrysostom*; *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian*; *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*; *Select Epistles of St. Cyprian treating of the Episcopate*; *The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran*; and *Tertullian concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh.*

The Macmillan Company will publish this autumn *The History of Christianity, A. D. 590–1314*, by Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson of Union Theological Seminary, continuing his well-known history of the earlier period.

A volume on *L'Antique Chrétienne*, the first part of a *Histoire Populaire de l'Église* (Poitiers, Texier, 1921, pp. 620), is by Abbé Emmanuel Barbier. A. Schlatter has published *Die Geschichte des Christus* (Stuttgart, Calwer, 1921, pp. 544).

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J. Strzygowski's volume on *Ursprung der Christlichen Kirchenkunst* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920, pp. xi, 204) is worthy of notice.

Volume VIII., part 2, of H. Leclercq's translation of the *Histoire des Conciles, d'après les Documents Originaux, par Charles Joseph Hefele, continuée par le Cardinal J. Hergenroether* (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1921, pp. 621–1260), has appeared.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Delehaye, *La Persécution dans l'Armée sous Dioclétien* (Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1921, 5); Cardinal Gasquet, *St. Jerome: His Life and Labors for the Church of God* (Dublin Review, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The elaborate history and description of *European Arms and Armour*, of which the late Sir Guy Laking did not live to complete more than the first of five volumes, is being continued at his request by his friend Mr. Francis Cripps-Day. Volumes II. and III. (London, Bell) are concerned with helmets and gauntlets, chain-mail, shields, and swords.

H. Idris Bell begins in the July number of the *English Historical Review* a list of original papal bulls and briefs in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum; 236 (1096–1480) are already listed.

The *Manuale Scholarium*, first published in 1481, and one of the chief sources of information concerning life in a medieval university, has been translated from the Latin into student, colloquial English, by Robert Francis Seybolt, associate professor of the history of education in the University of Illinois (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921, pp. 122). The work is in the form of a dialogue between two students who converse on such subjects as the form of matriculation, the freshman ceremony of initiation, courses of study, methods of instruction, requirements for degrees, and university life and customs. Besides the interesting and useful annotations, Professor Seybolt has added a four-page bibliography, and an appendix containing typical statutes of university rule from the codes of Erfurt, Heidelberg, and Leipzig.

A monograph on one of the great German magnates of the eleventh century is Karl H. Schmitt's *Erzbischof Adalbert I. von Mainz als Territorialfürst*, which appears as part 2 of the *Arbeiten zur Deutschen Rechts und Verfassungsgeschichte*, published by J. Haller, P. Heck, and A. B. Schmidt (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920).

Franz Pelster's *Kritische Studien zum Leben und zu den Schriften Alberts des Grossen* (Freiburg, Herder, 1920, pp. xvi, 180) is an effort to clear the ground for a scientifically written biography, which is still lacking. The author first studies the sources for such a biography, then attempts to make a chronology of Albert's life, and, finally, endeavors to date the philosophical and theological works.

The following studies of medieval church statesmen have appeared: Duc de la Salle de Rochemaure, *Gerbert Sylvestre II.* (Paris, Émile-Paul,

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pp. 752); E. Göller, *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII.* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920, pp. viii, 285), which is one of the *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1378,* and is an analysis of financial history that throws important light upon other phases of Benedict's administration.

Two medieval studies worthy of note are O. Wolff, O. S. B., *Mein Meister Rupertus, ein Mönchsleben aus d. 12 Jahrh.* (Freiburg, Herder, 1920, pp. vii, 202), and E. Sainte-Marie Perrin, *La Belle Vie de Sainte Colette de Corbie, 1381–1447* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. iii, 295).

A useful study illustrative of the quarrels of medieval lords with monastic houses is L. Schaudel's *Les Comtes de Salm et l'Abbaye de Senones aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1921).

P. Champion has edited *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc, Texte, Traduction, et Notes* (Paris, Champion, 2 vols.). He adds materially to the work of Quicherat, now over seventy years old. The translation is good, and the notes excellent. The introduction to the second volume, which studies the mentality and concepts of the judges, is a masterpiece. Mgr. Touchet, bishop of Orléans, has written *Vie de Sainte Jeanne d'Arc* (Poitiers, Texier, 1920, pp. xi, 216). *Les Étapes d'une Gloire Religieuse: Sainte Jeanne d'Arc* (Laurens) is by G. Goyau. It first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* and constitutes an important study of the development of opinion concerning the work of Joan of Arc. *La Véritable Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, Fasquelle) is by J. d'Auriac.

An important volume on *Avignon au XV^e Siècle* (Monaco and Paris, 1920, pp. 723), by L. H. Lebande, is published as part of the historical programme under the patronage of the Prince of Monaco. The author has already written on Avignon in the thirteenth century, and will publish a volume on the fourteenth century, that is, the period of the Avignon popes. He recasts, in the light of documents found in the archives of Monaco, not only the revolt of Cardinal Julian della Rovere against Alexander VI., but the whole history of that troubled epoch. This volume covers only political and diplomatic history. Another will appear, on the art, customs, and life of the city, etc. G. Mollot, professor in the University of Strasburg, has published the third volume of his edition of Stephanus Baluzius, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium, hoc est Historia Pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia Sederunt ab Anno Christi MCCCV. usque ad Annum MCCCXCIV.* (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1921, pp. 561).

Another of the useful handbooks of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has appeared, entitled *Life in a Medieval City* (London, 1920, pp. 84), as illustrated by York in the fifteenth century. The author is Edwin Benson.

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In his *Traité d'Architecture et son Application aux Monuments de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1921, pp. 300) G. Des Marez, archivist of the city of Brussels, attempts to build a manual of archaeology of the Middle Ages and a history of modern architecture, using the materials available in a single city for illustrative purposes.

Recent books on medieval history, the titles of which sufficiently suggest their contents, are: K. Heissenbüttel, *Die Bedeutung der Bezeichnungen f. Volk und Nation bei den Geschichtsschreibern d. 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1920, pp. 127); P. Vidal, *Les Gestes de Joffre d'Aria et de son Fils Joffre le Poilu, Comte de Barcelone, et Marquis de Gothie, Chronique Légendaire du IX^e Siècle* (Perpignan, Barrière, 1920, pp. 116); R. His, *Das Strafrecht des Deutschen Mittelalters, I., Die Verbrechen und ihre Folgen im Allgemeinen* (Leipzig, Weicher, 1920, pp. xxi, 672); H. Nottarp, *Die Bistumserrichtung in Deutschland im VIII. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1920, pp. vii, 259); C. Appel, *Der Trobado Cadenet* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1920, pp. ii, 123).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Bloch, *Serf de la Glèbe: Histoire d'une Expression toute Faite* (Revue Historique, CXXXVI. 2); J. Hashagen, *Rheinisches Geistesleben im Späteren Mittelalter* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 2); E. Posner, *Das Register Gregors I.* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XLIII. 2); P. Fournier, *L'Oeuvre Canonique de Réginon de Prüm* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXI.); U. Stutz, *Reims und Mainz in der Königswahl des Zehnten und zu Beginn des Elften Jahrhunderts* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XXIX.); E. Walburg, *Date de la Composition des Recueils de Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, dus à Benoît de Peterborough et à Guillaume de Cantorbéry* (Le Moyen Age, XXII., Sept.–Dec., 1920); R. von Heckel, *Untersuchungen zu den Registern Innozenz III.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XL.); C. H. Haskins, *The 'De Arte Venandi cum Avibus' of the Emperor Frederick II.* (English Historical Review, July); M. Viiler, *La Question de l'Union des Églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le Concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274–1438), I.* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XVII. 2–3); L. Mirot, *Paiements et Quittances de Travaux exécutés sous le Règne de Charles VI., 1380–1422* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXI.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An Outline of Modern History, by Edward M. Earle of Columbia University, published by the Macmillan Company, is a syllabus, with map studies, designed to accompany Professor Carlton Hayes's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*. There are appendixes on Studying and Note-Taking, on Book Reviews, and on Historical Essays, as well as fourteen map studies.

Professor D. Schäfer, of Berlin, has published a *Kolonialgeschichte* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1921, 2 vols., pp. iii, 148). The first volume deals

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with the period before the end of the eighteenth century, while the second covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Dr. Eduard Fueter, the Swiss scholar whose *Geschichte der Historiographie* is well known, has produced a readable *Weltgeschichte der Letzten Hundert Jahre, 1815–1920* (Zurich, Schulthess).

Le Fond d'une Querelle: Documents Inédits sur les Relations Franco-Italiennes, 1914–1921 (Paris, Grasset, 1921), by C. Sabini, is the story of the entrance of Italy into the war at a time when the two countries knew too little about each other, and thought rather ill of each other, and of the development of more cordial feeling.

The second volume of the British *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War* was published in 1912. The third and concluding volume, mainly the work of Major (now Major-General) E. D. Swinton and Captain (now Rear-Admiral) J. Luce, was completed in 1914, but delayed in publication by reason of the war. It is now published by the Stationery Office and contains the history of the battles of San-De-Pu and Mukden, the voyage of Rojestvenski's fleet, the battle of the Sea of Japan, and lesser events.

We have received from Dr. Alexander Krisztics, lecturer in the University of Budapest, a tabular *Synopsis of the Legal Position of Nationalities in Europe before the War,* which was submitted to the Peace Conference at Versailles by the Hungarian Peace Delegation. For each of some twenty-nine "nationalities", grouped politically, information is given respecting ethnical elements, the "law of nationalities in general", and the language of legislation, of administration, of the courts, of the schools and universities, and of the army.

THE GREAT WAR

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published in separate form the *Annual Report of the Director of the Division of Economics and History* (Mar. 16, 1921), devoted to a report, by James T. Shotwell, general editor, on the plans for the monumental *Economic and Social History of the World War* which is to be published by the Endowment and which is now the chief, practically the only, undertaking of the Division of Economics and History, of which Professor John Bates Clark is director. The method of organizing the proposed history has been to appoint in each country editorial heads to co-operate with the general editor. Thus the chairman of the British editorial board is Sir William Beveridge, of the French board Professor Charles Gide, of the Belgian board Dr. Henri Pirenne, of the Italian board Professor Luigi Finaudi, of the board dealing with the Baltic countries Professor Harald Westergaard. The chairmanship of the board for Austria-Hungary has been retained by the general editor, who has developed the plans for that division of the work in considerable detail; editorial boards in other countries are being organized. Nearly one hundred

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monographs have already been definitely arranged for, and are announced in the report. In the majority of cases it has been possible to secure as their respective authors men who were actively engaged during the war in the activities or phases with which they will deal. But one volume is as yet announced for the United States: *Guide to American Sources for the Economic History of the War,* by Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness. The first volume to be published, on either side of the Atlantic, is *Allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration,* by Mr. J. A. Salter (Oxford, Clarendon Press), who during the war held the positions of director of ship requisitioning in the Ministry of Shipping, secretary of the Allied Maritime Transport Council, chairman of the Allied Maritime Transport Executive, and secretary of the British department of the Supreme Economic Council. The second of these volumes is *Prices and Wages in the United Kingdom, 1914–1920,* by Dr. Arthur L. Bowley, professor of statistics in the University of London.

For two years much interest has been aroused by the collection at Stanford University of materials relating to the Great War, on a scale larger and more comprehensive than has been attempted by any other American institution, possibly by any other institution in the world. The collection owes its inception to Herbert Hoover and bears his name. A preliminary account of it is now published by Professor E. D. Adams, by whom and under whose direction the collection has been made: *The Hoover War Collection at Stanford University, California: a Report and an Analysis* (Stanford University Press, pp. 82). Necessarily the report is very summary; in view of the magnitude of the collection and the lack of time for arranging it, and because of the fact that it is still in process of making, it could hardly be otherwise. The analysis groups the contents under the following heads: propaganda of delegations at the Peace Conference, publications of societies, government documents, exchanges with the Library of Congress, ordinary book-material, special purchases, posters, proclamations and orders, newspapers and periodicals, war propaganda, Baltic States, Russia and Southeastern Europe, Stanford Food Research Institute.

Two bibliographical works of considerable importance are, H. Bornecque and G. Drouilly's *La France et la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, pp. 156), which contains an analysis of two hundred French books on the war which appeared between 1914 and 1918, and which serves as a very good guide to the literature of the subject; and J. L. Kunz's *Bibliographie der Kriegsliteratur: Politik, Geschichte, Philosophie, Völkerrecht, Friedensfrage* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1920, pp. 101), covering not only books, but pamphlets, documents, etc., as late as May, 1920.

Former President Raymond Poincaré, in a well-documented volume, *Les Origines de la Guerre, Conférences prononcées en Février–Mars, 1921, à la Société des Conférences* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 272), puts the

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French case in very clear and forceful terms. It is a book which adds new light to the history of the war.

The second volume of Sir Julian S. Corbett's *Naval Operations,* in the *Official History of the Great War,* to be published by Messrs. Longmans this autumn, will cover the period from the Battle of the Falkland Islands to the entrance of Italy into the war in May, 1915. It will be largely occupied with the Dardanelles Expedition.

If we understand the matter rightly, Investigating Committee No. 15 of the German National Assembly, appointed in 1919, was organized into two subcommittees, of which the first was to consider the origins of the war, the second the various movements toward peace or mediation made during the war and the reasons for their lack of success. We have now received Heft 2 of the *Beilagen* to the stenographic reports of the first, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges: Militärische Rüstungen und Mobilmachungen* (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1921, pp. 152), and two volumes of the *Stenographische Berichte* of the public sessions of the second, October 21–November 18, 1919, and April 14, 1920 (Berlin, Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, pp. 794, 120, 84, 338), which, however, also contains the first *Beilage* of the first subcommittee, consisting of the written replies of many German officials, from Bethmann-Hollweg down, to questions laid before them by the subcommittee, as well as a special report, with appendixes, of the second subcommittee, on President Wilson's movement toward peace and its reception and results. The book first named, mostly from the pen of Count Montgelas, contains a large amount of important information concerning the military preparations of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and other powers just before the war. It represents Russia as chiefly responsible. The German government has in press a further series of fifteen volumes, additional to these books and the Kautsky series, and referring to an earlier period; these are being prepared by Dr. Lewald's commission.

The Library for American Studies in Italy (Rome, Palazzo Salviati, 271 Corso Umberto I.), an institution which deserves favor and gifts from Americans, has published as no. 2 of its bulletins a very useful list of 314 publications relating to Italy's part in the Great War, prepared by the highly competent hands of Signor Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Elenco di oltre 300 Pubblicazióni sulla Parte avuta dall'Italia nella Grande Guerra* (pp. 32).

The Oxford University Press has brought out in two volumes, as no. 3 of the Research Series of the American Geographical Society, Douglas W. Johnson's *Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts: a Study in Military Geography.*

A preface to a large, official history soon to be published is in the form of a book by Lieut.-Col. J. Revel, of the Historical Section of the General Staff, *L'Effort Militaire des Alliés sur le Front de France* (Paris, Payot). H. V. Zwehl gives a brief but clear account of the

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struggle in the area between Soissons and Chateau-Thierry, in July and August, 1918, *Die Schlachten in Sommer 1918 an der Westfront* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921, pp. 40).

Among the flood of memoirs published by officers in the war, the following may be mentioned as deserving special note: General Dubail continues his *Quatre Années de Commandement, 1914–1918: Journal de Campagne,* vol. II. dealing with the *Groupes d'Armées de l'Est du 6 Janvier au 14 Août, 1915* (Paris, Fournier, 1920, pp. 408). Volume III. has recently appeared (1921, pp. 359). Vice-Admiral Ronarch, commander of the Marine Brigade, gives his recollections and regrets in *Souvenirs de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot). Jean-José Frappa, a liaison officer on the staff of General Sarrail, defends his chief, in *Makedonia* (Paris, Flammarion). The most complete account yet published of the Salonica expedition is that of Jacques Ancel, *Les Travaux et les Jours de l'Armee d'Orient* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 233), which first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* General Pedoya, its former president, publishes *La Commission de l'Armée pendant la Grande Guerre: Documents Inédits et Secrets* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1921, pp. 405). Military operations in Italy until August 11, 1916, are dealt with by Gen. Luigi Capello, commander of one of the Italian armies, in *Note di Guerra,* I., *Dall'Inizio alla Presa di Gorizia* (Milan, Trèves). Especially important is the work of Count J. Stürgkh, *Im Deutschen Grossen Hauptquartier* (Leipzig, List, 1921, pp. 160), which records his experiences and impressions during the first ten months of the war, when he was Austro-Hungarian representative at German headquarters. He had every opportunity to study the situation, and has recorded the results of his observations very frankly.

The local history of the war absorbs many volumes. Only a few of the more interesting and important may be mentioned. The pastoral letters of Mgr. Schoepfer, bishop of Tarbes, are published in *Lourdes pendant la Guerre* (Strasburg, Le Roux). They carry the story to the reception of General Foch, who was born in Tarbes. J. Schmitz and N. Nieuwland have collected *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Invasion Allemande dans les Provinces de Namur et de Luxembourg,* II., *Le Siège de Namur,* III., *Tamines et la Bataille de la Sambre* (Paris and Brussels, Van Oest, 1920, pp. 374, 208). *Lille et l'Invasion Allemande, 1914–1918* (Paris, Perrin, 1920), is by Jean Loredan; *Les Allemands à Laon, 2 Septembre, 1914–13 Octobre, 1918* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1920), by J. Marquiset; and *Un Arrondissement de Paris pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1921, pp. xvi, 498), by P. Maréchal.

War-Time Strikes and their Adjustment, by A. M. Bing (New York, Dutton, 1921), is an account of the organization, history, and operations of the governmental agencies set up during the war, or which already existed, for mediating in labor disputes.

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Books dealing with peace and its problems are: J. Brunhes and V. Camille, *La Géographie de l'Histoire: Géographie de la Paix et de la Guerre sur Terre et sur Mer* (Paris, Alcan); *L'Afrique et la Paix de Versailles* (Tours, Arrault, 1921, pp. 268), by E. Antonelli; *La Protection des Droits des Minorités dans les Traités Internationaux de 1919–1920* (Paris, Pavolozki, 1920), by Marc Vichniac; *La Propriété Industrielle, Littéraire et Artistique et les Traités de Paix* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1921), by G. Chabaud, which is an analysis of certain phases of the treaties and a discussion of their application. *La Question Adriatique* (Paris, L'Emancipatrice), by "Adriaticus", is a collection of official documents, 1914–1919, with commentary sufficient to put them in their proper setting. It is designed to show the several attempts made by various nations to solve the Adriatic problem.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anon., *Notes on Foreign* [non-English] *War Books* (Army Quarterly, January, April, July); Gen. N. N. Golovine, *Cavalry on the Front* (Cavalry Journal, July); Capt. G. C. Wynne, *The Development of the German Plan of Campaign, August–September, 1914* (Army Quarterly, July); Brig.-Gen. J. E. Edmonds, *The Austrian Plan of Campaign in 1914 and its Development* (*ibid.*); L. Dumur, *La Prise de Douaumont* (Mercure de France, July 15); Lieut.-Col. Chenet, *La Verité sur la Perte du Fort de Douaumont, d'après des Témoignages Inédits* (*ibid.*, August 1); Maj. E. N. McClellan, *The Aisne-Marne Offensive*, cont. (Marine Corps Gazette, June); Capt. Gordon Gordon-Smith, *Errors of Allied Strategy and Policy in the World War* (Infantry Journal, July); R. H. Williams, *Literature of the Peace Conference* (Canadian Historical Review, June); D. H. Miller, *The Adriatic Negotiations at Paris* (Atlantic Monthly, August); Hymans, Bourquin, de Visscher, Rolin, Grunebaum-Ballin, and Hostie, *Études sur l'Organisation et l'Oeuvre de la Société des Nations* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, II. 1, 2); A. I., *Le Régime de l'Occupation Rhénane institué par le Traité de Versailles* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Cambridge University Press announces a series of *Cambridge Studies in English Legal History,* to be edited by an American scholar, Dr. Harold D. Hazeltine, Downing Professor of the Laws of England.

H. Prentout, professor of the history of Normandy in the University of Caen, whose studies in the earlier period of English history are well known, has written a careful and well-proportioned manual under the title, *Histoire de l'Angleterre depuis les Origines jusqu'en 1919* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

Foster's very useful *Alumni Oxonienses* is to be paralleled by a series of *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* to be edited by Dr. John Venn and Mr. J. A. Venn and published by the Cambridge University Press. Part I., con-

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sisting of four volumes, will run to 1751; the second part, running from 1752 to the present time, will be undertaken if sufficient encouragement is obtained from the success of part I.

A Short History of the Jews in England (S. P. C. K.) is by the competent hands of Rev. H. P. Stokes.

Dom Bede Jarrett's *The English Dominicans* (London, Burns and Oates) recounts their history in a manner both interesting and scholarly, on the occasion of the seven-hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Dominicans to England.

H. Jensen has published *Den Engelske Revolutions Historie, 1603–1688* (Copenhagen, Gad, 1920, pp. 242).

Matthew Prior: a Study of his Public Career and Correspondence, by L. G. Wickham Legg, fellow and tutor of New College, Oxford, a work based on diplomatic and other material in British, French, Dutch, and private archives, will shortly be published by the Cambridge University Press.

Mr. Lewis Melville's *The South Sea Bubble* (London, Daniel O'Connor) devotes careful and thorough investigation to a famous and dramatic episode in economic and financial history.

Dr. Rufus M. Jones concludes the important series of books on the history of the Society of Friends put forth by him and Mr. W. C. Braithwaite, by the publication of two volumes on *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (Macmillan).

Volume II., part I., of Wolfgang Michael's *Englische Geschichte im 18. Jahrhundert* is devoted to *Das Zeitalter Robert Walpoles* (Berlin and Leipzig, Rothschild, 1920, pp. 640) and covers the period from 1717 to 1720 in very great detail. It is based on extensive research both in England and on the Continent. This is a work of great importance.

Mr. J. F. Rees, lecturer in economic history in the University of Edinburgh, has lately published *A Fiscal and Financial History of England, 1815–1918* (London, Methuen).

No. 27 of Miss Skeel's series of *Texts for Students* (London, S. P. C. K.) begins a group entitled *The Foundations of Modern Ireland,* in which Miss Constantia Maxwell, of the University of Dublin, will present select extracts from sources illustrating English rule and social and economic conditions in Ireland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Part I. is concerned with the civil policy of Henry VIII. and the Reformation. In the same series there will shortly appear an account of the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office, by Mr. C. S. S. Higham, of the University of Manchester.

British government publication: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* September 1, 1680–December 31, 1681, ed. F. H. B. Daniell. Other documentary publications are: *Year-Books of Edward II.,* 1312–1313, ed. Sir Paul Vinogradoff and L. Ehrlich (Selden Society); *The Register of Charles Bothe, Bishop of Hereford,* 1516–1536, ed. Canon A. T. Bannister (Cantilupe Society, completing their series).

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Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. F. Tout, *The Place of St. Thomas of Canterbury in History* (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, July); E. R. Adair and F. M. G. Evans, *Writs of Assistance, 1558–1700* (English Historical Review, July); V. J. B. Torr, *Local Records of the Elizabethan Settlement* (Dublin Review, July); J. M. Manly, *The Most Mysterious Manuscript in the World: Did Roger Bacon write it and has the Key been Found?* (Harper's Magazine, July); R. K. Hannay, *The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary* (Scottish Historical Review, July); *"Reflections by the Lrd Cheife Justice Hale on Mr. Hobbes his Dialogue of the Law"*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock and Dr. W. S. Holdsworth (Law Quarterly Review, July); W. T. Morgan, *The Ministerial Revolution in 1710 in England* (Political Science Quarterly, June); L. M. Penson, *The London West India Interest in the Eighteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Callwell, *War Councils in this Country* [Great Britain] (Army Quarterly, July); J. Bardoux, *La Crise Révolutionnaire de l'Angleterre Contemporaine: ses Origines Religieuses* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Nov.–Dec., 1920).

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Lefebre, *Quelques Publications relatives au Seizième Siècle Français* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXI.); Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours et Questions Générales Contemporaines* (Revue Historique, CXXXVI. 2).

Three volumes of the great *Histoire de la Nation Française*, edited by Gabriel Hanotaux, have appeared. Volume I., *Géographie Humaine de la France* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. lxxx, 500), is by Jean Brunhes, professor in the College of France. Volume III., *Histoire Politique: des Origines à 1515* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 590), is by P. Imbart de la Tour. It is grouped about four sets of facts: the work of Clovis, the work of Charlemagne, feudalism, and the monarchy. Volume XII. is *Histoire des Lettres* (Paris, Plon, 1921), and is divided in three parts, as follows: 1, *La Littérature Française en Langue Latine*, by Francois Picavet; 2, *Les Chansons de Geste*, by Joseph Bédier; 3, *Littérature de Langue Française: des Origines à Ronsard*, by Alfred Jeanroy.

C. de la Roncière continues his monumental *Histoire de la Marine Française* with vol. V., on *La Guerre de Trente Ans: Colbert* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 748). It is ten years since the appearance of vol. IV. The new work includes an enormous mass of material dealing with the work of Richelieu, and the great reorganization of Colbert, with its brilliant results.

La Bretagne (Paris, Boccard) is by C. le Goffic, the best-equipped writer on the subject. While the work is largely descriptive, the author knows the historical background which is essential to an interpretation

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of the customs and habits of the people. A. Mousset has published *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Maison de Kergorlay en Bretagne* (Paris, Collemant, 1921, pp. cv, 540).

A contribution of notable importance to the history of the first eight years of the reign of Louis XI. is Henri Stein's *Charles de France, Frère de Louis XI.* (Paris, Picard, pp. ix, 871). The king's brother was at the centre of most of the difficulties that Louis encountered.

P. d'Estrée, who has already published a volume on *Le Maréchal de Richelieu, 1696–1758,* has now completed the biography, in *La Vieillesse de Richelieu, 1758–1788, d'après les Correspondances et Mémoires Contemporaines et d'après les Documents Inédits* (Paris, Émile-Paul).

A carefully prepared volume by A. Léman is *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces Ordinaires de France, de 1624 à 1634* (Lille, Giard, 1920, pp. iv, 217). It is more than a publication of texts; each instruction is preceded by an introduction, giving an account of the papal ambassador and of the problems with which he had to deal.

Before the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, on January 7, 1921, Louis Batiffol demonstrated that the *Mémoires* of Cardinal de Richelieu are not authentic, being the work of two compilers, who endeavored to write a history of Louis XIII. on the basis of Richelieu's papers.

J. Cordey has published vol. II. of *Correspondance du Maréchal de Vivonne relative à l'Expédition de Messine* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920, pp. xxxvi, 364). The first volume appeared some years ago. The present work covers the period from October, 1676, to January, 1678.

The study of French law from the days of Louis XIV. to Napoleon forms the subject of *L'Enseignement du Droit Français dans les Universités de France au XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ Siècles* (Paris, Tenin, 1920, pp. 155), by A. de Curzon.

The life of *Louis XV.: Essai d'après les Documents Authentiques* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1921) is by C. Saint-André.

Marc Chassaigne has attacked the legend of a supposed martyr to free thought in the eighteenth century in *Le Procès du Chevalier de la Barre* (Paris, Gabalda, 1921, pp. xiv, 272).

The third volume of M. Marion's *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* covers the period from September 26, 1792, to February 4, 1797. It is the history of paper money, emphasizing the dangers of its abuse, and recounts the tergiversations of the assembly and the misfortunes which paper money brought. The story of one of Necker's attempts at fiscal reform is by Georges Larde, *Une Enquête sur les Vingtièmes de Necker* (Paris, Letouzey, 1920, pp. vii, 136).

Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Democratie: Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 300), by A. Cochin, is a collection of studies preparatory to a history of the French Revolution which the

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author had planned before his death. L. de Launay has written *Une Famille de la Bourgeoisie Parisienne pendant la Révolution: Toussaint Mareux, Membre de la Commune de 1792 et Directeur du Théâtre Saint-Antoine, et François Sallior, Membre du Bureau Central sous le Directoire, d'après leur Correspondance Inédite* (Tours, Arrault, 1921, pp. 392).

P. de La Gorce has published the fourth volume of his *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Plon, pp. 380). It covers the five years from July 27, 1794, to November 9, 1799, from the first public demand for religious liberty to the return of Napoleon from Egypt and the death of Pius VI. The Napoleonic reshaping of the situation which had been precipitated by the Revolution will form the subject of the next volume. *La Résistance au Concordat de 1801* (Paris, Plon, pp. 248) is by R. de Chauvigny.

The beginnings of a great empire are illustrated, together with matters interesting to the student of the African slave-trade, by the *Instructions Générales données de 1763 à 1870 aux Gouverneurs des Établissements Français en Afrique Occidentale,* edited by M. Christian Schefer, of which the first volume, 1763–1831, has just been published by Champion of Paris.

H. d'Almeras continues his series of volumes with *La Vie Parisienne sous la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, Michel, 1921, pp. 388). Previous volumes covered the periods of the Revolution and the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire, the Restoration, and the reign of Louis Philippe.

A study of a crisis in the history of universal suffrage is by Gaston Génique, *L'Élection de l'Assemblée Législative en 1849: Essai d'une Répartition Géographique des Partis Politiques en France* (Bedier). The author concludes that radicalism is always stupid.

A book of value for the history of the Church under the Second Empire is Albert Houtin's *Le Père Hyacinthe dans l'Église Romaine: 1827–1868* (Paris, Nourry, 1920).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Dieudonné, *Les Conditions du Denier Parisis et du Denier Tournois sous les Premiers Capétiens* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXI.); Victor Loewe, *Französiche Rheinbundidee und Brandenburgische Politik im Jahre 1698* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XX. 2); C. Pfister, *Les Voyages de Louis XIV. en Alsace,* I., *Le Voyage de 1663* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November–December, 1920); F. Lion, *Das Elsass als Problem* (Neue Rundschau, April); E. Wetterlé, *La "Langue Maternelle" en Alsace et en Lorraine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); C. Samaran, *Un Diplomate Français du XV^e Siècle: Jean de Bilhères-Lagranlas, Cardinal de Saint-Denis* (Le Moyen Age, XXII.); de la Revelière, *Nos Alliances et la Pologne* (Mercure de France, July 15); Seillière, *Joseph de Maistre et Rousseau* (Séances et

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Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November–December, 1920); Prince de Condé, *Journal d'Émigration,* I., II. (Revue de Paris, June 15, July 1); L. Madelin, *Napoléon à travers le Siècle, 1821–1921* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); J. G. Prod'homme, *Napoléon, la Musique et les Musiciens* (Mercure de France, May 15); M. Liber, *Napoléon Ier et les Juifs: la Question Juive devant le Conseil d'État en 1806* (Revue des Études Juives, LXXI. 142, 143); Saint-Denis dit Ali, *Souvenirs du Second Mameluk de l'Empereur,* I., *Les Tuileries, Moscou, la Retraite de Russie,* II., *L'Ile d'Elbe* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1, 15); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Bonaparte, Membre de l'Institut* (*ibid.,* May 15); P. Adam, *Ligny et Waterloo,* I., *Ligny,* II., *Waterloo* (Revue de France, May 1, 15); F. Masson, *La Mort de l'Empereur,* I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, 15); T. Roche, *Paul-Louis Courier, Soldat de Napoléon* (Mercure de France, May 15); Joseph Reinach, *Napoléon III. et la Paix* (Revue Historique, March-April); J. M. S. Allison, *Thiers and the July Days* (Sewanee Review, July–September); J. Reinach, *La Diplomatie de la Troisième République, 1871–1914,* I., II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 1, 2).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

William Heywood, an English scholar of great accuracy and vivacious talent, who from 1879 to 1894 lived in America as editor, ranchman, and lawyer, and after that in Italy, left behind him an unfinished work on Pisa which has been posthumously published as *A History of Pisa in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge University Press).

Professor Isidoro del Lungo issues a new edition of his important contribution to Florentine history entitled *Bonifazio VIII. e Arrigo VII.* with the new title *I Bianchi e i Neri* (Milan, Hoepli).

An important body of *Mémoires* (Rome, Cuggini, 3 vols., pp. 1402), by Cardinal Dominique Ferrata, has been published.

In vol. XXIV. of the *Transactions* of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, under the title *Collectanea Hispanica,* Professor Charles U. Clark presents an elaborate treatise on Spanish palaeography and on Visigothic manuscripts, of which 213 are described.

A. Ballesteros y Beretta has published the second volume of his *Historia de España y su Influencia en la Historia Universal* (Barcelona, Salvet, pp. 776). The same author has written a *Síntesis de Historia de España* (Madrid, Torres, 1920, pp. 486).

The first part of a *Contribución al Estudio de la Administración de Barcelona por los Franceses, 1808–1814* (Barcelona, Escuela Salesiana de Arte Gráfico, 1920, pp. 214), has been published by F. Camp.

Señor Arturo Farinelli's *Viajes por España y Portugal desde la Edad Media hasta el Siglo XIX.* (Madrid, Centro de Estúdios Históricos), while ample as a bibliography of travel in the Peninsula, is more than

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a mere bibliographical list, since the compiler adds many interesting comments of his own, and some quotations.

A study of the life and work of a Spanish political thinker, by E. Varagna, is *Un Grand Espagnol Apôtre du Droit des Peuples: Emilio Castelar* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1920, pp. xiv, 328).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Ferrero, *One Hundred Years of Italian Life* (Current History, September); W. Erben, *Betrachtungen zu der Italienischen Kriegstätigkeit der Schweizer* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 1); F. Ruffini, *Il Potere Temporale negli Scopi di Guerra degli Ex-Imperi Centrali* (Nuova Antologia, April 16); *id.*, *La Questione Romana e l'Ora Presente* (*ibid.*, June 1).

GERMANY

The Bishop of Bombay (Dr. E. J. Palmer) has prepared, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published, a *Life of Otto, Apostle of Pomerania, 1060–1139,* in which he gives an English translation, the first to be made, of the second and third books of the *Life* by Ebo.

A fifth edition has been published of *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xiv, 463), by W. Altmann and E. Bernheim; a brief *Geschichte des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, Habbel, 1920, pp. 384) is by H. Rausse; T. Mayer has written *Die Verwaltungsorganisationen Maximilians I., ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung* (Innsbruck, Verlag d. Wagnerschen Universität Buchdruch, 1920, pp. 106).

New books dealing with various phases of the Reformation in Germany are, A. v. Müller's *Luther's Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis neu Untersucht* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. x, 140); W. Knappe's *Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain und die Reformation in der Herrschaft Hohenwaldeck: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1920, pp. v, 156).

One hundred years of Protestantism in Germany is reviewed by J. B. Kissling in *Der Deutsche Protestantismus, 1817–1917: eine Geschichtliche Darstellung* (Munster, Aschendorff, 1920, 2 vols., pp. xii, 424; xii, 440).

We have just received the third volume of the *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Heilbronn,* edited by Dr. Moriz von Rauch (Stuttgart, 1916, pp. 782). It pertains to the years 1501–1524 and is published as the nineteenth volume of the *Württembergische Geschichtsquellen* of the Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte.

Otto Vitense has published a satisfactory *Geschichte von Mecklenburg* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. xxxiv, 610), in the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* series. The second volume of W. Jesse's *Geschichte der*

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Stadt Schwerin (Schwerin, Bärensprung, 1920, pp. 149) deals with the nineteenth century. The first volume was published in 1913.

A study of the Treaty of Basel, made from unpublished documents in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is published by E. de Marcère under the title *La Prusse et la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Alcan).

L'Allemagne et l'Avenir de l'Europe d'après les Lettres Inédites d'un Diplomate Belge en 1848 (Paris, Berger-Levrault) is by Comte Renaud de Briey.

Moltke, by Lieut.-Col. F. E. Whitton, is the latest addition to the series of *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* (London, Constable).

The feelings of a German of the older days who still thinks the dropping of Bismarck the great blunder, and his point of view concerning Wilhelm's management of German affairs, are set down by E. Engel in *Ein Tagebuch, 1914–1919* (6 vols., 1914–1920, pp. 2056).

The fourth volume of the quarto series of *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, bearing the imprint of 1915, has just reached us. It is a beautifully printed volume of over 200 pages, illustrated with nearly seventy plates and figures. Following an historical introduction by Victor van Berchem, the contents are as follows: Les Alliances de Genève avec les Cantons Suisses, extracts from a memoir by W. Oechsli, translated and annotated by Victor van Berchem; A Genève, du Conseil des Hallebardes à la Combourgeoisie avec Fribourg et Berne, 1525–1526, by Édouard Favre; Les Efforts des Genevois pour être admis dans l'Alliance Générale des Ligues, 1548–1550, by Léon Gautier; Les Monuments de l'Alliance de 1584 conservés à Genève, by Alfred Cartier; Les Coupes de l'Alliance de 1584, by Victor van Berchem; Les Médailles rappelant les Anciennes Relations de Genève et des Cantons Suisses, 1584–1815, by Eugène Demole; and La Chute, la Restauration de la République de Genève et son Entrée dans la Confédération Suisse (1798–1815), by Charles Borgeaud.

The first volume of E. Gagliardi's *Geschichte der Schweiz von den Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart* (Zurich, Rascher, 1920, pp. viii, 283) brings the account to the end of the Italian war, in 1516.

G. Heer has published another of his studies in nineteenth-century Swiss history, under the title *Der Schweizer: Bundesrat von 1848* (Glarus, Glarner Nachrichten, 1920, pp. iv, 104).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Wenck, *Die Römische Kurie in der Schilderung eines Würzburger Stiftsherrn aus den Jahren 1263–1264* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV, 3); A. L. Veit, *Aus der Geschichte der Universität zu Mainz, 1477–1731* (Historiches Jahrbuch, XL.); Preserved Smith, *Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Friedrich Lenz, *Karl Marx* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 3); R. Kjellen, *Die Koalitionspolitik*

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im Zeitalter 1871–1914 (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLV. 1); R. Redslob, *La Constitution Prussienne* (Revue du Droit Public, XXXVIII. 2); P. Matter, *La Constitution Prussienne et les Élections du 20 Février, 1921* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2); G. Wilke, *Die Entwicklung der Theorie des Staatlichen Steuersystems in der Deutschen Finanzwissenschaft des 19 Jahrhunderts* (Finanz-Archiv, XXXVIII. 1); G. Duhamel, *Prague, Avril, 1921* (Mercure de France, July 1); F. Hartung, *Carl August von Weimar als Landesherr* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 1); A. Rosenbaum, *Bibliographie der in den Jahren 1914 bis 1918 Erschienenen, Zeitschriftenaufsätze und Bücher zur Deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (Euphorion, XII. 1, 2); Johannes Schultze, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Historischen Zeitschrift,* with letters from H. von Sybel to Max Duncker of 1857–1858 (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV, 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The next publication of the Dutch Historical Commission, expected to appear this winter, will be the first of two volumes of papal documents illustrative of the history of the Eighty Years' War for independence, edited by Mgr. A. Hensen, *Documenten over de Strijd tegen de Hervorming, uit Archieven te Roma.*

In 1922 will be published, in Professor Brugmans's attractive illustrated historical series, a volume on Prince Frederick Henry, lately completed by Professor P. J. Blok of Leyden.

No. 2 of the valuable publications of the society called Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief is Dr. N. W. Posthumus's second volume of the *Documenten betreffende de Buitenlandsche Handelspolitiek van Nederland in de Negentiende Eeuw* (the Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1921, pp. xv, 494), presenting documents in English, Dutch, and French concerning Anglo-Dutch commercial negotiations from 1814 to 1838. For no. 3, see under Asia, *post* (Japan).

One of the stormy characters of Dutch history is dealt with in J. S. van Veen's *De Laatste Regeeringsjaren von Hertog Arnold, 1456–1465* (Arnheim, Quint, 1920, pp. vi, 160).

S. Cuperus has published vol. II. of *Kerkelijk leven der Hervormden in Friesland tijdens de Republiek,* under the title *De Gemeente Leeuwarden* (Groningen, Meijer and Schaafsma, 1920, pp. 224).

L'Ame et la Vie d'un Peuple: la Hollande dans le Monde (Paris, Perrin, 1921) is by H. Asselin.

Belgium is to have a general historical and philological review, based on a union of all elements interested in history and philology. The first number will appear in January next. The conduct of this *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* will be in the hands of a managing committee, with its secretary in Brussels.

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Volume V. of Henri Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1921, pp. xiii, 584) covers the period from the Peace of Westphalia to the French War of 1792, giving a detailed account of the Austrian régime. The book is especially important for its study of Joseph II.

Eugène Hubert, rector of the University of Liége, has already published a number of volumes since the armistice on the Austrian period of Belgian history; his address at the opening of the session of the University of Liége in October, 1920, appears in the *Rapport sur la Situation de l'Université pendant l'Année 1919–1920*, under the title "Gouverneurs Généraux et Ministres Plénipotentiaires aux Pays-Bas pendant les Dernières Années du Régime Autrichien". The same author has also published recently *Notes et Documents sur l'Histoire du Protestantisme dans le Duché de Luxembourg au XVIII. Siècle* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1920, pp. 110).

The archivist of Turnhout, Father J. E. Jansen, canon of the Premonstratensian Abbaye du Parc, has published an excellent history of his order in Belgium, topically arranged, *La Belgique Norbertine* (Averbode, Imprimerie de l'Abbaye, 1921, pp. xxvi, 407).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General Reviews: P. Chasles, *Le Bolchévisme Expliqué par l'État Social de la Russie, avec une Bibliographie* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXI. 91–93); G. Tschudnowski, *Russiche Sozialisten über den Krieg* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, IX. 2, 3).

B. Erichsen and A. Krarup have published *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* (Copenhagen, Gad, 1920, pp. 160).

M. S. Hansson is the author of *Norges Forhold overfor Danmark i 1863–1864* (Christiania, Aschehoug, 1920, pp. 94).

Two recent books on Finland are, E. Moltesen, *Det Finske Finland: en Kulturhistorisk Oversigt* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1920, pp. 168), and *Från Finlands Frihetskrig* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1920, pp. 236), by E. Linder.

Jules Legras, whose knowledge of Russia is founded on his travels in that country for a quarter of a century, in his *Mémoires de Russie* (Paris, Payot) gives an account of his life with the Russian army. The chapter on the Roumanian front, his characterizations of Russian officers and soldiers, and his discussion of the breakdown of the army and the rise of Bolshevism, are remarkable contributions, and will give the book an important place. Ossip-Lourié's *La Révolution Russe* (Paris, Rieder, pp. 112) attempts to cover everything since 1914 in too brief compass. It is strongly sympathetic to Lenine and pictures him as an incorruptible puritan. The reminiscences of a Riga physician are recorded in W. Lieven's *Das Rote Russland, Augenblicksbilder aus den Tagen der Gros-*

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sen Russischen Revolution (Berlin, pp. 212). Maurice Verstraet has published his daily notes from May, 1915, to September, 1918, under the title *Mes Cahiers Russes* (Paris, Crès).

Important first-hand accounts of the history of the White Army and of the events which attended its downfall are to be found in *V Stanye Byelikh* (In the Camp of the Whites), by G. N. Rakovski, a journalist who accompanied it, and in *Pravlenie Generala Denikina* (General Denikin's Government), by Professor K. N. Sokolov, who occupied an important post in that government (Paris, Povolozki, both).

Pohod Kornilova (The Kornilov Campaign), by Alexei Suvorin (Rostov-on-the-Don, *Novoe Vremya* Press), is an important contribution to the history of the Volunteer Army, with a vivid and intelligent account of its exploits from its formation at the beginning of 1918 down to the death of its leader.

Mr. David R. Francis has brought out, through Charles Scribner's Sons, an account of the Russian Revolution as he saw it. The book is entitled *Russia from the American Embassy, April, 1916–November, 1918.*

W. Le Queux, the historian of Rasputín, completes the striking revelations of his two preceding volumes, *Raspoutine, le Moine Scélérat* and *La Vie Secrète de la Tsarine Tragique,* with a new volume entitled, *Le Ministre du Mal: Mémoires de Teodor Rajevski, Secrétaire Privé de Raspoutine* (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. 256). P. Gilliard, former preceptor of the Grand Duke Alexis, has published *Le Tragique Destin de Nicolas II. et de sa Famille: Treize Années à la Cour de Russie, Peterhof, Septembre, 1905, Ekaterinbourg, Mai, 1918* (Paris, Payot, pp. 264). He was an eye-witness of the last days of the royal family and escaped only by grace of a "happy caprice of the Bolshevists". The volume is illustrated with sixty-two photographs.

La Pologne et les Polonais (Paris, Bossard, pp. 390), by Doctor V. Bugiel, is a résumé, geographic, ethnographic, historical, and cultural.

Les Institutions Politiques en Pologne aux XIX^e Siècle (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. 270) is the work of Bohdan Winiarski, who was one of the legal counsellors of the Polish delegation at the Peace Conference.

One of the most actively discussed topics of the day is dealt with in V. Rzymowski's *La Pologne et la Haute-Silésie, traduit du Polonais par T. Warynski* (Paris, Bossard, pp. 40).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre,* V., *Nicolas II. à la Tête de ses Troupes*; VI., *Nicolas II. Fidèle à l'Alliance* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, 15); H. F. Crohn-Wolfgang, *Die Baltischen Randstaaten und ihre Handelspolitische Bedeutung* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLVI, 1); Maj. E. E. Farman, jr., *The Polish-Bolshevik Campaigns of 1920* (Cavalry Journal, July); Maj.-Gen. A. E. Martynov, *Russian Generals and Bolshevism: the Latter Days of the Russian Army* (Army Quarterly, April).

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SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Essays on the Latin Orient, by Mr. William Miller (Cambridge University Press), contains papers on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, on the Medieval Serbian Empire, on Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest, and on the Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian, Genoese, and Turkish dominations in Greece.

Doctor Mitrovitch of the University of Geneva has written an interesting book under the title, *Une Voix Serbe* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 224). It centres about Nicholas Pashitch, whose predominance since 1881 has been the outstanding feature of Serbian political history.

La Roumanie Nouvelle (Paris, Roger, 1920, pp. 267), by A. Muzet, is a book of popular character by a Balkan expert. *Les Questions Roumaines du Temps Présent* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. iv, 186) is a collection of lectures by T. Jonesco, D. Hurmuzesco, V. Dimitriv, E. Pangrati, C. M. Sipsom, J. Gavanesco, D. Negulesco, and J. Ursu.

An effort to discuss the character of the Turkish people so that Western people may understand them is made by A. T. Wegner in *Im Hause der Glückseligkeit: Aufzeichnungen aus der Türkei* (Dresden, Sybillen Verlag, 1920, pp. vii, 212). Personal impressions of the Turks are contained in H. Myles, *La Fin de Stamboul: Essai sur le Monde Turc* (Paris, Sansot, 1921, pp. 216). Gaston Gaillard's *Les Turcs et l'Europe* (Paris, Chapelot, 1920, pp. 384) is a discussion of the Sèvres Treaty. P. Redan has written *La Cilicie et le Problème Ottoman* (Paris, Gautier-Villars, pp. viii, 148). He deals with the subject objectively, and in a well-documented volume attempts an impartial discussion.

An investigation into *Des Sources du Droit Musulman* (Algiers, Mourad ben Turqui, 1920, pp, 228) is by A. ben Cheikh Charce ben Jekkouk.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. A. Nekludoff, *Avant la Guerre Mondiale: la Paix de Bucarest de 1913* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); Jérome and Jean Tharaud, *Bolchévistes de Hongrie,* III., *La Jérusalem Nouvelle* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); A. E. R. Boak, *Greek Intrastate Associations and the League of Nations* (American Journal of International Law, July); G. Georges-Picot, *La Politique Extérieure de la République Tchécoslovaque* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2); R. Noury, *Le Poète Nédim et la Société Ottomane au XVIII^e Siècle* (Mercure de France, June 15); M. Bompard, *L'Entrée en Guerre de la Turquie,* I. (Revue de Paris, July 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The early history of the French establishments and rule in India is illustrated in detail by the series of volumes published at Pondicherry by the Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française, of which the latest is vol. I. of the *Correspondance du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry et de la Compagnie, 1726–1730,* edited by M. Alfred Martineau.

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Sir Aurel Stein is about to publish the full report of his remarkable explorations of Central Asia in 1906–1908, supplemented by those of 1913–1916, in three large volumes entitled *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford University Press). Appendixes will contain annotated translations of Chinese inscriptions and records, by the late Édouard Chavannes, a list of the great collection of ancient manuscripts brought back, by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, notes on Tibetan documents and inscriptions by other scholars, etc.

G. Groslier, in *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* (Paris, Challamel), gives not only an account of social life as interpreted from the monuments and manuscripts available, but has illustrated his work with 200 photographs and 1,153 drawings.

As its volume for 1920, the Linschoten Vereeniging has published the *Verhaal van het Vergaan van het Jacht de Sperwer* (pp. liii, 165), by Hendrik Hamel of Gorkum, edited by Mr. B. Hoetink. Hamel was the bookkeeper of the *Sperwer,* shipwrecked on Quelpaert Island in 1653, and his book, published in 1668, relates the adventures of the crew from that date to 1665 and gives the first European description of Corea. The present edition contains much additional matter.

T. Miyaoka, formerly chargé of Japan at Washington, discusses *Le Progrès des Institutions Libérales au Japon* (Paris, Dumoulin, 1921, pp. 60); *Le Mouvement Ouvrier au Japon* (Paris, La Librairie de *l'Humanité,* 1921, pp. 110) is by F. Challaye.

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* for May contains the concluding part of the History of the Victorian Ballot, by Professor Ernest Scott; the Beginnings of Brunswick (suburb of Melbourne), by B. Cooke; and the first installment of an interesting paper by G. B. Vasey on Social Life in Melbourne in 1840, based on the diary of Anthony Beale.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty* [in India] (Quarterly Review, July); Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India's Man-Power in the War* (Army Quarterly, July).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Saint Optat et les Premiers Écrivains Donatistes (Paris, Leroux, 1920, pp. 350) is the title of the fifth volume of P. Monceaux's *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe.*

In the *Publications de la Section Historique du Maroc,* Lieut.-Col. H. de Castries has published *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. 654).

An important volume of memoirs is General von Lettow-Vorbeck's *Meine Erinnerungen aus Ostafrica* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. 302). He took command in East Africa shortly before the opening of the war.

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With 3,000 Europeans and 11,000 residents of Africa, he was called upon to hold for four years a territory twice as big as Germany. At the end he had a force of 300,000 men and 130 generals. Besides the great interest which naturally attaches to such an account, the book reveals the resources and possibilities of an area not very well known.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The recent acquisitions of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress have been large and important. There have been transferred to it from the White House the letter-books of President Grant (four volumes, 1869–1877), of which two volumes are described in Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide*, p. 1, from the Navy Department the papers of Commodore John Rodgers, 1775–1836, described *ibid.*, pp. 187–188, and from the War Department the volume of letters from the Presidents relating to the city of Washington, 1791–1869, *ibid.*, p. 30. The papers of Simon Newcomb, which have been on deposit under complete restriction since 1909, are now open to investigators. Other accessions are as follows: letter-book of Samuel Davidson, a merchant of Georgetown, D. C., 1789–1809; minutes of the meetings of the Carpenters' Society of Baltimore, 1790–1804; eleven letters from Gayoso de Lemos to Winthrop Sargent, 1798–1799; papers of John Cabell Breckinridge, about 8,000 pieces, 1841–1873; diaries of Richard R. Crawford, 1843–1844, and Laura Jones Crawford, 1859, both of Georgetown, D. C.; miscellaneous letters to Oliver Wendell Holmes, about 800 pieces, 1846–1894; additions to the papers of Admiral George C. Remey, U. S. N., 1855–1920; additional papers of Admiral Charles S. Sperry, U. S. N., 1887–1909; papers of Gen. William C. Gorgas, U. S. A.; German broadsides, domestic propaganda, 1914–1918; records of activities of the National Women's Party in working for the adoption of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, 1917–1920.

The Library of Congress has published its *List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1918*, prepared by Miss Katharine Jacobs (Washington, 1921, pp. 200). The volume contains also supplementary lists of theses printed in 1914, 1916, and 1917. The output of 1918 numbers 360 dissertations, of which thirty-four are listed under the classification of history. The volume is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, at thirty-five cents.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published, as no. 38 of its Pamphlet Series, *Notes on Sovereignty from the Standpoint of the State and of the World*, by Robert Lansing, from papers previously printed in the *American Journal of International Law* and the *Proceedings* of the American Political Science Association.

Articles in the June number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* are: the Attitude of the Presbyterians in Ohio, Indiana,

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and Illinois toward Slavery, 1825–1861, by Rev. John F. Lyons; Presbyterianism in Colonial New England, by Professor Frederick W. Loetscher; and the concluding installment of the Records of the Middle Association of Congregational Churches of the State of New York, 1806–1810, edited by Rev. Dr. John Quincy Adams.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for July, the second number of the new series, shows a tendency to excursions outside the field of history, into the domain of philosophy and theology. The leading articles are: the Increase and the Diffusion of Historical Knowledge, by Rev. Francis J. Betten, S. J., a plea for research in Catholic history; the Centenary of the Archdiocese of Quebec, by the late Right Reverend Lionel St. George Lindsay, dean of the cathedral chapter, Quebec; the Literary Influence of St. Jerome, by Rev. William P. H. Kitchin; and Kant under the Light of History, by Rev. M. J. Ryan. Under the caption Miscellany is an informing note by Rev. Philip Hughes on History Teaching at Louvain.

The American Society of International Law has published the *Proceedings* of its fifteenth annual meeting, held in Washington in April of the present year. Three of the papers here printed have interest for students of history: the Munitions Trade, by Lester H. Woolsey; Conditional Contraband, by Charles C. Hyde; and Continuous Voyage, by George G. Wilson.

Training for the Public Profession of the Law is the title of *Bulletin* no. 15 of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (New York, 1921, pp. 498). The author, Mr. Alfred Z. Reed, has treated this subject throughout from the historical point of view and has made it substantially a history of legal education in America. The subject is treated under the following principal headings: (1) Comparative development of law and the legal profession in England, Canada, and the United States; (2) Organization and recruiting of the legal profession in the United States; (3) Rise and multiplication of law-schools; (4) Rise of a new legal profession after the Civil War, organized in bar associations; (5) Changes in bar admission requirements; (6) Efforts to broaden the training of lawyers during the first quarter-century after the Civil War; (7) Efforts to intensify the training of lawyers during the first quarter-century after the Civil War; (8) Recent development and present condition of legal education. The appendix contains lists of law schools, statistical tables, early law-school curricula, and a bibliography.

The lectures delivered by Professor J. W. Garner in various French universities have been published under the title, *Idées et Institutions Politiques Américaines* (Paris, Giard, 1921, pp. xii, 256). These evoked a very favorable response in France, and the publication of them there was warmly received.

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The Roosevelt Memorial Association, at 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, is collecting material relating to the late Theodore Roosevelt. It especially desires to secure letters written by him, or personal reminiscences concerning him, or unusual books, pamphlets, cartoons, clippings, photographs, and other material bearing upon his life and interests.

With the issue for May, 1921 (no. 67), the *Monthly List of Military Information Carded from Books, Periodicals and other Sources,* which has been published since 1915 by the library of the General Staff College, War Department, is discontinued.

Miscellaneous Essays in the History of Music (Macmillan), by O. G. Sonneck, formerly chief of the Music Division in the Library of Congress, contains several contributions to American musical history: the History of Music in America; Early American Operas; the First Edition of Hail Columbia; etc.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Rudolf Cronau (340 East 198th Street, New York City) has published in English, under the title *The Discovery of America and the Landfall of Columbus,* the substance, somewhat amplified, of the reports of his investigation respecting the landfall of Columbus and his place of burial, which originally appeared as *Amerika, die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung* (Leipzig, 1891–1892), and which was commented on at length by the late Charles K. Adams, in the *Annual Report for 1891* of the American Historical Association.

The student of the history of the Revolution, provided he can read Dutch, will find a great deal of fresh light cast on one episode of that history by a Leyden doctoral dissertation by Dr. F. W. van Wijk, *De Republiek en Amerika, 1776 tot 1782* (Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1921, pp. xxxviii, 211), in which the course of political action and especially of public opinion in the Netherlands respecting the American struggle before and after the missions of Laurens and Adams and the entrance of the Dutch into the war, Paul Jones in Holland, etc., are carefully studied. Unfortunately, war-time conditions deprived Mr. van Wijk of the use of most of the needful American sources. His book is therefore a complement to Dr. Friedrich Edler's *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution,* rather than a substitute for it.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has published as Bulletin no. 283 (May, pp. 107) a *History of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, 1917–1919,* by Willard E. Hotchkiss and Henry R. Seager.

The *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Republican National Convention* (1920), reported by George L. Hart and published under the supervision of the general secretary of the convention, has been issued by the Tenny Press, 318 W. 39th Street, New York.

Professor A. A. Bruce of the University of Minnesota is the author of a work on the *Non-Partisan League,* which has been included in Macmillan's Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology.

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THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The Plattsburg Movement: a Chapter of America's Participation in the World War (Dutton), by Ralph B. Perry, tells the story of the students' camps of 1913 and of the organization of the Military Training Camps Association, discusses the government's military policy on the eve of the war, etc.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *A Journal of the Great War,* in two volumes, by Gen. Charles G. Dawes, now director of the Federal budget. General Dawes was purchasing agent in Europe for the American armies, and the journal pertains principally to matters in his department.

The War Department has published in its series *Records of the World War,* the *Field Orders of the 2d Army Corps* (pp. 40), and the *Field Orders, 1918, of the 5th Division* (pp. 175). The Historical Branch has published as Monograph no. 10, *Operations of the 2d American Corps in the Somme Offensive, August 8 to November 11, 1918* (pp. 40).

The 115th Infantry, U. S. A., in the World War, edited by F. C. Reynolds, is published by the editor, 2908 Parkwood Avenue, Baltimore.

The first volume of the *Indiana World War Records,* published by the Indiana Historical Commission, John W. Oliver, director, bears the title *Gold Star Honor Roll, 1914–1918* (Indianapolis, 1921, pp. 750). It contains, arranged by counties, brief notices of the men and women from Indiana who died while serving with the forces of the United States or of the Allies during the World War. Each of the more than 3,000 notices includes, so far as possible, the names of parents, date and place of the subject's birth, occupation, camps, service records, date and place of death and burial, and photograph.

The War History Department of the California Historical Survey Commission has issued a pamphlet (pp. 90) containing the war addresses, proclamations, and patriotic messages of Governor William D. Stephens. It is entitled *California in the War.*

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The listing of family cemeteries in New England, and so far as possible their restoration and preservation, is the object of a movement inaugurated by the Storrs Family Association at its last meeting in Connecticut. It is seeking the co-operation of historical agencies and societies in that section of the country.

Boston Common: Scenes from Four Centuries, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, which was originally published in 1910 in a limited large-paper edition, has been brought out in a smaller and less expensive form by Houghton Mifflin Company, with the addition of a "Postscript, 1921" by the author. In this little book the story of perhaps the most historic

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piece of public ground in America is told in charming fashion through the description of typical events which took place there during the four centuries which its history spans.

The Connecticut Valley Historical Society has brought out *The History of Springfield in Massachusetts for the Young: being also in some Part the History of other Towns and Cities in the County of Hampden,* by Charles H. Barrows.

The annual report of the librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society lists a number of important manuscript accessions during the past year. Among them are account books of business firms and individuals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the journal of Ensign Joseph Booth during the French and Indian War; the papers of Judge Sherman W. Adams; letters to Franklin G. Comstock of Hartford in 1835–1837, relating to the silk industry; papers of several families, especially Bull, Dodd, Newton, and Weaver; shipping and other papers of Ralph Bulkley, 1810–1830; and the correspondence of Charles McLaren, 1847–1890.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Volume XVII. of the *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* (1919, pp. 480) contains the report of the nineteenth annual meeting of the association, held in New York City in October, 1917. Among the papers printed in the present volume should be noted the following: the Representative Idea and the American Revolution, by Professor Robert M. McElroy; the First New York State Constitution, by Professor Edgar Dawson; the Earliest Years of the Dutch Settlement of New Netherland, by Worthington C. Ford; the Beginnings of Daily Journalism in New York City, by Francis W. Halsey; Federating and Affiliating Local Historical Societies, by James Sullivan; King's College and the Early Days of Columbia College, by John B. Pine; Some English Governors of New York and their Part in the Development of the Colony, by Frank H. Severance; Growth of Religious Liberty in New York City, by Nelson P. Mead; Early History of Staten Island, by Ira K. Norris; and the Landed Gentry and their Politics a Hundred Years Ago, by Dixon R. Fox. The volume also contains (pp. 278–299) Writings on New York History 1916, drawn from Miss Griffin's *Writings on American History* for the same year, and (pp. 301–428) Soldiers of the Champlain Valley chiefly in the colonial and Revolutionary wars, printed from the card-list compiled by Silas H. Paine.

The June number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains part I. of a list of references on Provençal Literature and Language, including the Local History of Southern France. The list is continued in the July number, which contains also chapter XVIII. of the History of the New York Public Library.

Longmans, Green, and Company have brought out a biography of *David Hummell Greer, Eighth Bishop of New York,* by Rev. Charles L. Slattery.

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The July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains a brief sketch of Levi P. Morton.

The New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin of July contains a historical sketch of Blackwell's Island, and some documents pertaining to Stamp Act Activities in New York, 1765.

The July number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a paper by Samuel Copp Worthen on the Secession of New Jersey (1775–1776), one by Hon. Frederick W. Gnitchel on the End of Duelling in New Jersey, a Historical Address on Sussex County, by Hon. Willard W. Cutler, and a continuation of the Condict Revolutionary Record Abstracts.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired a group of ten letters written by Generals Wayne, St. Clair, Reed, and Sullivan, and by John Witherspoon relating to the mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line during the Revolution. There have also been acquired two diaries and an account book kept by Mrs. Mary Scott Siddons during the years 1887–1890.

In the October, 1920, number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* appear some Items of History of York, Pennsylvania, during the Revolution, drawn from the diaries of the Moravian congregation at York; Selections from the Correspondence of Judge Richard Peters of Belmont, ranging in date from 1793 to 1807, and including letters from Washington, Timothy Pickering, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Gen. James Wilkinson, and Rev. William Smith; some letters from the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, comprising two letters of Cecil Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, 1755 and 1757, and two from Robert Dinwiddie to an unknown correspondent, 1755 and 1764; a sketch of Brig.-Gen. George Mathews; and a continuation of the correspondence of Thomas Rodney, contributed by Mr. Simon Gratz.

The contents of the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* include an address by Hon. Josiah Cohen entitled Half a Century of the Allegheny County Bar Association, an article by Irene E. Williams on the Operation of the Fugitive Slave Law in Western Pennsylvania from 1850 to 1860, and a continuation of the paper by John H. Niebaum on the Pittsburgh Blues, being the story of Fort Meigs.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains, besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, an extended study, by W. B. Marye, of the Baltimore County "Garrison" and the Old Garrison Roads, and Some Letters from the Correspondence of James Alfred Pearce, senator of the United States from 1843 to 1863. Among the correspondents are: Reverdy Johnson, Thomas Corwin, Samuel Houston, E. F. Chambers, and W. H. Emory, the latter being a major, afterward

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a major-general, of volunteers in the United States army. The correspondence is edited by Dr. B. C. Steiner.

The completion of the equipment of the Archives Annex of the Virginia State Library has made possible the transfer to the new depository of certain records of the auditor's and treasurer's offices. The records of the Circuit Court of Charles City, with the exception of the deed and will books, have also been transferred.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the July number a series of letters to David Watson, a lawyer of Louisa Court House and an officer in the Virginia forces in the War of 1812. The letters are from Chapman Johnson, Robert Michie, Joseph C. Cabell, and Francis W. Gilmer, and were principally written from William and Mary College, between the years 1797 and 1802. One letter from Gilmer is dated at Richmond in 1818, and another from Edinburgh in 1824. This number of the *Magazine* includes also the Virginia War History Commission's Calendar of Military Histories, Narratives, and Reports, collected for the Virginia war archives. The series of Documents relating to a proposed Swiss and German Colony in the Western Part of Virginia is brought to a conclusion.

The contents of the July number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly* include the Family Register of Nicholas Taliaferro, with notes, contributed by William Buckner McGroarty; the Quaker's Attitude toward the Revolution, by Adair P. Archer; some Letters of William Byrd II. and Sir Hans Sloane relative to Plants and Minerals in Virginia (1706–1741); and a letter contributed by R. M. Hughes, from Charles C. Johnston to John B. Floyd, dated at Washington, December 16, 1831.

Recent additions to the manuscript collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission include the following: Diary of James Iredell, 1770–1772; additions to the John H. Bryan papers, 147 letters from 1783 to 1896; David Clark papers, 19 pieces, 1861–1863, relating to the Roanoke River defenses; and numerous additions to state and county archives. Twelve volumes of Revolutionary army accounts have been indexed, and the first volume of the *Moravian Records of North Carolina* is in press.

The South Carolina Historical Society has acquired as a gift from Mrs. Joseph Hume of New Orleans a collection of genealogical notes, gathered by the late Motte A. Read, Esq. The collection pertains principally to families of the South Carolina coast and numbers several thousand items.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* prints in the January number an installment of the correspondence of Ralph Izard and Henry Laurens, 1775–1777. Izard was then in London; and while the correspondence relates principally to business matters, it touches also upon public affairs.

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The June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by Judge Andrew J. Cobb on the Constitution of the Confederate States: its Influence on the Union it Sought to Dissolve; a biographical sketch, by John T. Boifeuillet, of the late Senator A. O. Bacon; and a continuation of the Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks.

The University of Chicago Press has published *A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860,* by William H. Weathersby.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1920, contains a paper by J. A. Renshaw entitled Liberty Monument, being a chapter in the history of reconstruction, centering about the clash of arms in New Orleans on September 14, 1874; and two further installments of Henry P. Dart's contributions from the Cabildo Archives, one of them pertaining to criminal trials in Louisiana in the period from 1720 to 1766, the other being the judicial proceedings in what is termed the first "succession" opened in Louisiana.

WESTERN STATES

The contents of the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* include three articles, namely, Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration, by Theodore C. Blegen; the New Northwest, by O. G. Libby; and the Buffalo Range of the Northwest, by H. A. Trexler; also the Journal of William Calk, Kentucky Pioneer, edited by Lewis H. Kilpatrick. Calk's journal, though brief (March 13 to May 2, 1775), is a document of considerable value, and Mr. Kilpatrick gives an interesting sketch of the journalist's career.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* in the January number, reprints from the *Sentinel of the Northwestern Territory* the minutes of the meeting of the legislature of the Northwestern Territory in 1795. The same issue contains some personal recollections, by James R. Morris, of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and a paper by B. F. Prince on Early Journeys to Ohio. The April number contains an article by Alexander S. Wilson, M. D., on the Naga and Lingam of India and the Serpent Mounds of Ohio, and some memorial addresses on the late Professor George F. Wright.

The *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* offers in the April–June number the third selection from the Gano Papers. They are of January and February, 1813.

The Indiana Historical Commission has issued the *Proceedings of the Second Annual State History Conference,* held in Indianapolis in December, 1920. Among the papers and addresses are: Jefferson Davis a Prisoner in Macon, Georgia, after his Capture, by Capt. Joseph A. Goddard; and the Last Days of Lincoln, by Judge Robert W. McBride.

In the July issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* announcement is made that in view of the extension by the *Catholic Historical*

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Review of its scope to include general church history, the Illinois *Review* will broaden its field "with a view to covering at least a part of that vast territory lying between the Alleghany Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, which otherwise would not be so completely represented". Among the contents of this number we note the following: the First Chicago Church Records, by Joseph J. Thompson; the Ancient Order of Hibernians, by Rev. Frank L. Reynolds; the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, by John Rothensteiner; Sebastien Louis Meurin, S. J., continued, by Charles H. Metzer, S. J.; and an American Martyrology, with a list of Catholic missionaries who endured martyrdom in America, by Joseph J. Thompson.

Professor James W. Thompson has presented to the University of Chicago four letters of the sixteenth century, which he discovered during the course of his investigations in the history of the Huguenots. Two of these are letters of King Henry III. and are of the year 1574; one is a letter of King Henry IV., written in 1589; and a fourth is a letter of Cardinal de Rambouillet to King Charles IX. of France, dated at Rome, December 2, 1570.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for October, 1920, has just been issued. Among its contents we note the following: the *Autobiography* of Martin Van Buren, by W. E. Beard; Pepys and the Proprietors of Carolina, by A. V. Goodpasture; The Extension of the Northern Boundary Line of Tennessee—the Matthews Line, with documents, by Robert S. Henry; the concluding installment of the marriage records of Knox County, contributed by Miss Kate White; and various notes by W. E. McElwee on Aboriginal Remains in Tennessee.

The principal contents of the June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are: Rufus King: Soldier, Editor, and Statesman, by Gen. Charles King; the Evangelical Association of Lomira Circuit, by John S. Roeseler; the First Missionary in Wisconsin (Father René Ménard), by Louis P. Kellogg; and some letters of Chauncey H. Cooke, a Wisconsin soldier in the Civil War, written from Kentucky and Mississippi, May to July, 1863, and largely pertaining to the Vicksburg campaign.

The Minnesota Historical Society announces *A History of Minnesota,* by William W. Folwell, professor emeritus of the University of Minnesota. The work is to be published in four volumes, of which the first, carrying the history to the admission of the state into the Union in 1858, has now appeared.

Articles in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa, by Marcus L. Hansen, and the Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890, by Louis B. Schmidt. There is also a series of letters of Governor John Chambers on Indian affairs, May to July, 1845. The January number contains a paper by John E. Briggs on Iowa and the

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Diplomatic Service; one by the same author on Kasson and the First International Postal Conference; one by Clarence R. Aurner on Mechanics' Institutions, and a continuation of Professor Schmidt's study.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a series of Sketches of the Mormon Era in Hancock County, Illinois, reprinted from *Gregg's Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial* of September, 1873, printed at Hamilton, Illinois.

The July number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, of the community in Iowa known as Amana.

Among the articles in the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: Missourians and the Nation during the Last Century, by the late Champ Clark; a Guide to the Study of Local History and the Collection of Historical Material, by Jonas Viles and J. E. Wrench; the Missouri and the Mississippi Railroad Debt, by E. M. Violette; the Followers of Duden, by W. T. Bek; and a further instalment of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by J. T. Edwards. The three articles last mentioned are continued in the July number, which contains also a paper by J. D. Lawson on a Century of Missouri Legal Literature, and one by Maurice Casenave on the Influence of the Mississippi Valley on the Development of Modern France.

The Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis has recently acquired the specifications of the fortifications of Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, the Thonicas, and other fortified places of the French régime. It has also come into possession of the journal of the committee appointed by the Missouri house of representatives to investigate the report of Col. Zachary Taylor on the battle in Florida of December 23, 1837, in which he accused the Missouri Volunteers of cowardice.

Articles in the July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the Annexation of Texas and the Mississippi Democrats, by James E. Winston; the Texas Convention of 1845, by Annie Middleton; and the Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836–1842. Harris was a resident of Texas from 1836 to 1849, thereafter of California.

The principal article in the July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is by S. E. Morison on Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789–1823. There is also a narrative by James Sweeney, relating his experiences in the army and as a miner from 1855 to 1883.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June contains an article by T. C. Elliott on the Origin of the Name Oregon, in which is an account of Maj. Robert Rogers, who used the term "Ouragon" in his proposal to the Privy Council in 1765 to search for the northwest passage. As an appendix to the article are printed four documents copied from the Public Record Office, the proposals of Major Rogers of 1765 and 1772, and the petitions of Jonathan Carver of 1773. The remainder of the issue is devoted to a series of interesting letters from S. H. Taylor, written to the *Chronicle*, of Watertown, Wisconsin, during an overland journey from that town to Oregon in 1853.

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The Macmillan Company will publish this fall *A History of California: the Spanish Period,* by Professor Charles E. Chapman; there will later be published a companion volume by Professor Robert G. Cleland dealing with the American period.

Walter A. Hawley is the author of a small volume entitled *The Early History of Santa Barbara, California, from the First Discoveries by Europeans to December, 1846* (Santa Barbara, Schauer).

CANADA

The University of Toronto Press has printed *The Nature of Canadian Federalism,* by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, in pamphlet form, a development of the author's article bearing the same title in the June number of the *Canadian Historical Review.*

Mr. Victor Ross's *History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce,* of which vol. I. has just been published (Toronto, Oxford University Press, pp. xvi, 516), studies not only the fifty years of that bank's existence but the history of the five other banks, in five different provinces, which have been amalgamated with it.

One of the best types of contributions to local history is *The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785–1811,* edited by A. H. Young of Trinity College, Toronto, for the Kingston Historical Society (Kingston, Ont., 1921, pp. 207). The introduction (pp. 5–72) bears evidence of careful scholarship and contains much information respecting the history and biography of a town which was an important centre of American Loyalists.

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K., Macmillan) there will shortly be published an account of the Archives of Canada, by the public archivist of the Dominion, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, C. M. G.

Mr. A. H. Young of the University of Toronto has published a historical and genealogical sketch of *The Revd. John Stuart, D.D., and his Family.* Dr. Stuart, a native of Pennsylvania, who emigrated to Kingston, Ontario, was a United Empire Loyalist.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

In the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla,* nos. 38, 39, and nos. 40 and 41 (double numbers), appear continuations of the study, by German Latorre, entitled Intervención Tutelar de España en los Problemas de Límites de Hispano-América, and the second section of the Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias, by Pedro Torres Lanzas. In nos. 42 and 43 is found the initial installment of the third section of the last-named contribution, and also some documents from the Archives of the Indies pertaining to Chilean cities. Numbers 44 and 45, issued as one, contain a paper read at the second Congress of Hispanic-American History and Geography, by Sr. Santiago Montoto:

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Don José de Veitia Linaje y su Libro "Norte de la Contratación de las Indias"; a further installment of the Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias: III., Casa de la Contratación de Indias, by Sr. Pedro Torres Lanzas; and the first installment of the Libro de la Longitudines . . . por Alonzo de Santa Cruz . . . Cosmographo mayor, printed with an introduction by Sr. Antonio Blazquez.

As a preliminary step to the preparation of a *Dictionary of National Biography of South America* which it has projected, the Hispanic Society of America is bringing out a series of books of biographies of leading living representatives of Hispanic civilization in America. It is announced that the volumes pertaining to Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay are now ready.

Books dealing with the period of Spanish control and the revolutionary era in South America are, *La Iglesia en America y la Dominación Española: Estudio de la Época Colonial* (Buenos Aires, Lajouane, 1920, pp. 322), by L. Ayarragaray; *Memorias Históropolíticas: Ultimos Dias de la Gran Colombia y del Libertador,* vol. I. (Madrid, Gráfica Ambos Mundos, 1920, pp. 332), by J. Posada Gutiérrez; *Papeles de Bolívar* (Madrid, Edit. América, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 279, 289), by V. Lecuna.

A. R. Vazquez, in *Orientaciones Americanas* (Havana, 1921, pp. iv, 328), has discussed the situation of Costa Rica and Cuba in particular and of America in general.

John D. Kuser is the author of a work entitled *Haiti: its Dawn of Progress after Years in a Night of Revolution* (Boston, Badger).

While the external history of the Dutch rule in Brazil has been the theme of several excellent books, Dr. Hermann Wätjen's *Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1921, pp. xx, 348) finds something to add on that side, but it is mainly concerned with a more novel endeavor to expound the internal, the administrative, and especially the economic history of the Dutch occupation.

The *Revista de Economía Argentina* for July contains, under the rubric "Movimiento Económico de la República", a series of statistical summaries, chiefly for the last decade, relating to population, immigration, unemployment, transportation, labor, production, foreign commerce, finance, etc.

Volume XIV. of the series *Documentos para la Historia Argentina,* published by the section of history of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires, bears the title *Correspondencias Generales de la Provincia de Buenos Aires relativas a Relationes Exteriores, 1820–1824* (Buenos Aires, 1921, pp. xv, 552). The volume is brought out under the supervision of Dr. Emilio Ravignani, director of the section of history; it contains 493 documents from the archives of the Ministry of Exterior Relations, constituting the outletters of that ministry from 1820 to 1824. They are addressed to the

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agents and governments of foreign countries, to the agents of Buenos Aires abroad, and to private individuals, firms, and others. Most of them are signed by Bernardino Rivadavia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Manuscript from which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence* (D. A. R. Magazine, July); Robert E. Cushman, *Constitutional Decisions by a Bare Majority of the Court* (Michigan Law Review, June); Thomas J. Cross, *The Eclecticism of the Law of Louisiana* (American Law Review, May–June); George G. Putnam, *Salem Vessels and their Voyages*, cont. (Essex Institute Historical Collections, July); Maj. Edwin N. McClellan and Capt. John H. Craige, *American Marines in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (D. A. R. Magazine, June); Edna F. Campbell, *New Orleans at the Time of the Louisiana Purchase* (Geographical Review, July); Randolph Harrison, *The Monroe Doctrine, its Origin, Meaning, and Application* (American Law Review, May–June); Peter G. Mode, *Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life* (Journal of Religion, July); Virginia Fitsgerald, *A Southern College Boy Eighty Years ago* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); J. D. Van Horne, *The Southern Attitude toward Slavery* (Sewanee Review, July–September); F. B. C. Bradlee, *The "Kearsage-Alabama" Battle* (Essex Institute Historical Collections, July); H. W. Lindley, *A Century of Quakerism* (American Friend, August 25); J. T. Smith, *The First Three American Cardinals, McCloskey, Farley, and Gibbons* (Dublin Review, July); Milton Conover, *Pensions for Public Employees* (American Political Science Review, August); B. J. Hendrick, *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* (World's Work, August, September); J. W. Garner, *La Politique Étrangère Américaine* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2); Clara E. Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment towards Germany, 1870–1914* (Journal of International Relations, July); Henry Morgenthau, *All in a Life-Time: Chapters from an Autobiography* (World's Work, August, September); Frank Jewett, *Why we did not Declare War on Turkey* (Current History, September); E. Chartier, *Le Canada Français: l'Église et la Paroisse Canadienne* (Revue Canadienne, XXVI. 5, 6); C. Ross, *Südamerikanische Spannungen* (Neue Rundschau, July); Marius André, *A-propos des "Centenaires Sud-Américains"* (Le Correspondant, July 10, and following numbers); B. J. Pérez Verdía, *The Glorification of Bolivar* (Inter-America, English, August); E. Pérez, *La Diplomacia Estadounidense: Monroísmo, Panamericanismo, y Panamaismo* (Cuba Contemporanea, XXVI. 103); F. G. del Valle, *Páginas para la Historia de Cuba: Documentos para la Biografía de José de la Luz y Caballero* (*ibid.*, XXVI. 102, 103); E. J. Varona, *Sobre el Problema Económico y la Reforma Constitucional* (*ibid.*, XXVI. 103).

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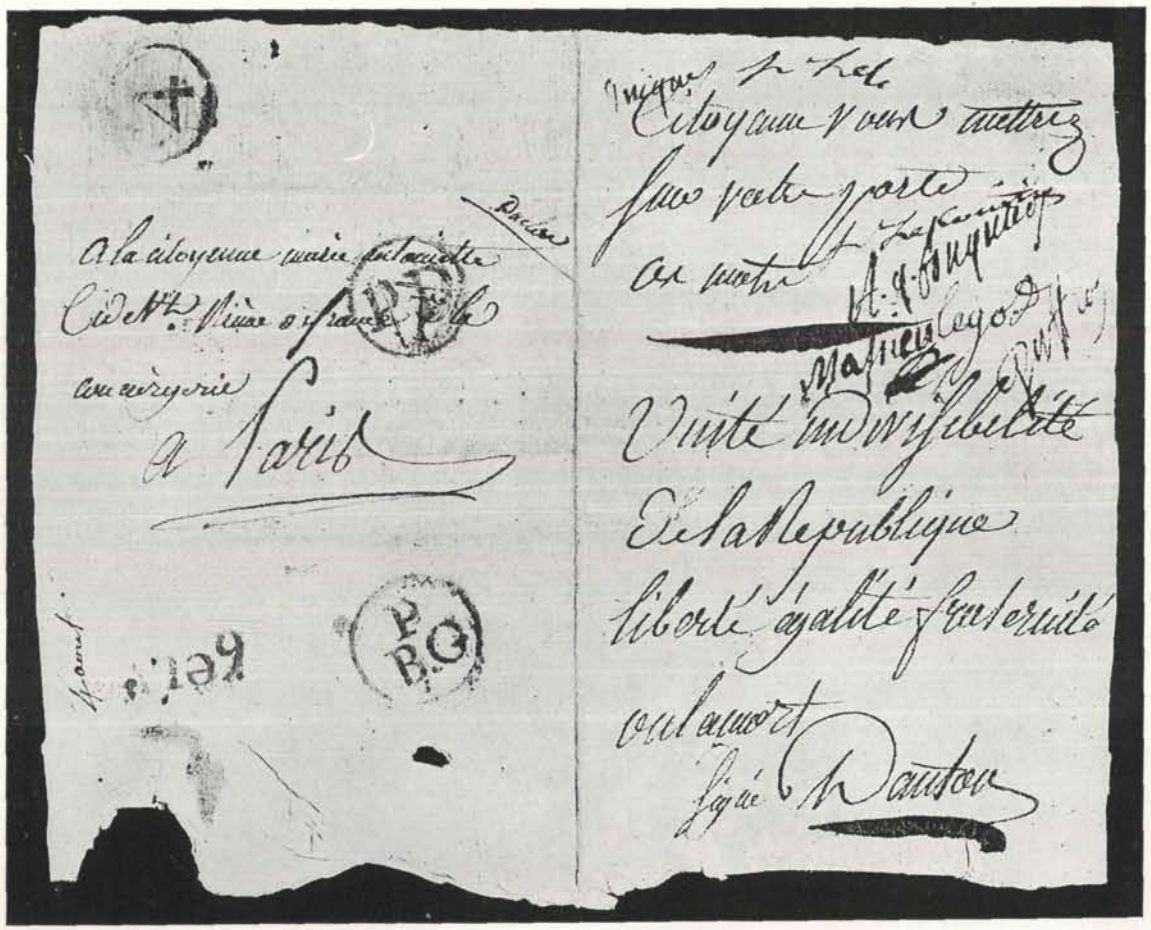
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